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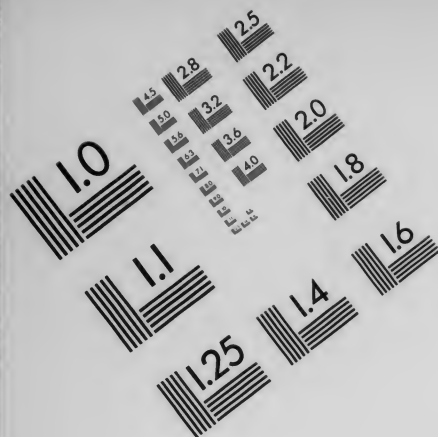
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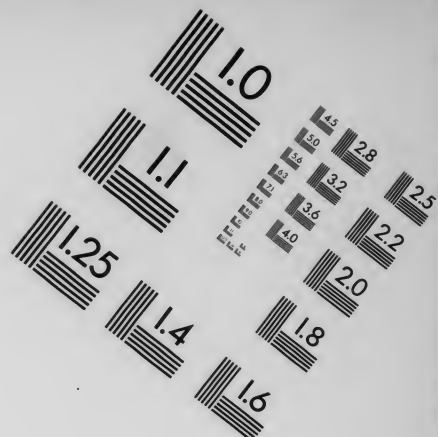


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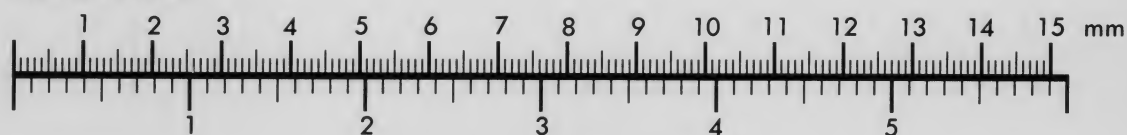
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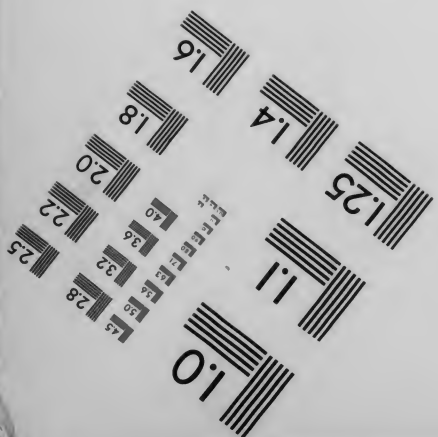
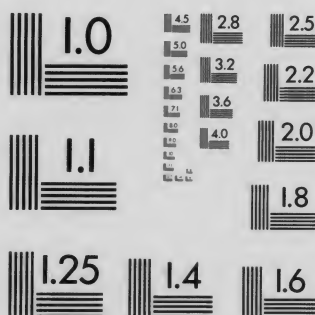
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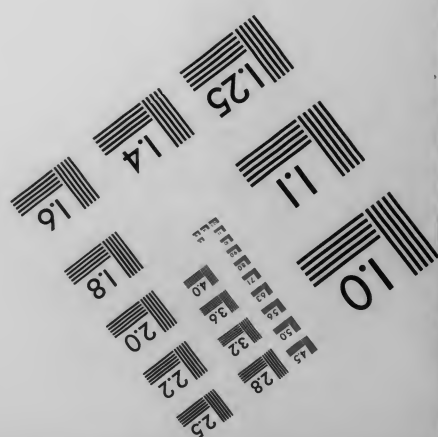
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COLUMBIA
A. REPLY

TO
DOCTOR MILNER'S

"END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY,"

SO FAR AS
THE CHURCHES OF THE ENGLISH COMMUNION
ARE CONCERNED.

BY
SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., LL.D.,
HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE CHURCH,
AUTHOR OF "A CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF
THE CHURCH," ETC., ETC.

"Ego quando cuique vel dicendo vel scribendo respondeo, etiam contumeliosis
criminationibus lacessitus, quantum mihi Dominus donat, frénatis atque contritis vane
indignationis aculeis, auditori lectorive consulens, non ago ut efficiar homini conviciando
superior, sed errorem convincendo salubrior."

S. Aug. cont. Litt. Petiliani, lib. iii.

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A ROLAND FOR DR. MILNER'S OLIVER.

(See the quotations on the reverse of his Title-page from the same Authors.)

"They dare even to rebaptize Catholics, whereby they more amply confirm the fact that they themselves are heretics; since it hath seemed good to the whole Church Catholic not to rescind the common baptism even in heretics themselves."—ST. AUSTIN, Doctor of the Church, A. D. 400. *Lib. de Hæresibus*, LXIX.

"The Sacrament of Baptism is that which he has who is baptized; and the Sacrament of conferring Baptism is that which he has who is ordained. But as the baptized person, if he shall recede from the unity, does not lose the Sacrament of Baptism; so also the ordained person, if he shall recede from the unity, does not lose the Sacrament of conferring baptism."—ST. AUGUSTINE, Doctor of the Church, A. D. 400. *Cont. Donatistas*. Lib. I. c. i.

"1. If any Papist living, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me that the present Roman Church, is eyther the Catholique Church, or a sound member of the Catholique Church, I will subscribe. 2. If any Papist living, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me that the present Church of England is not a true member of the Catholique Church, I will subscribe. 3. If any Papist, &c., can prove unto mee, that all those points, or any one of those points which the Church of Rome maintaineth against the Church of England, were or was, the perpetuall Doctrine of the Catholique Church: the concluded Doctrine of the representative Church in any generall Councell, or Nationall approved by a Generall: or the dogmaticall resolution of any one Father, for 500 years after Christ, I will subscribe.—DR. MONTAGUE, Bishop of Norwich. *Gagger Gagged*. To the Reader.

"Since the time that I could understand the Dispute about Religion, when it was demanded, on the behalf of the Church of Rome, Where was your church before Luther's time? The Answer hath always been: Even where it is now. The answer was: That it is the same church that it was; a church which was sick, and is now cured; which was corrupted, and is now cleared of her corruptions."—DR. HERBERT THORNDIKE, Prebendary of Westminster. *Just Weights and Measures*. P. 1.

"It was the challenge of St. Augustine to the Donatists, who (as the Church of Rome does at this day) inclos'd the Catholick Church within their own circuits: *Ye say that Christ is heir of no Lands but where Donatus is Cohaire. Read this to us out of the Law and the Prophets, out of the Psalms, out of the Gospel itself, or out of the Letters of the Apostles. Read it thence and we believe it.* Plainly directing us to the Fountains of our Faith, the Old and New Testament, the words of Christ, and the words of the Apostles. For nothing else can be the foundation of our Faith, whatsoever came in after these *foris est*, it belongs not unto Christ.—DR. JEREMY TAYLOR, Bishop Down. *Dissuasive from Popery*. Chap. 1, Sect. 1.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

"THE end of religious controversy" may mean its object or its termination. Its object should be TRUTH, but is often victory—to make the *worse* appear the *better* reason. Its termination can never be until Truth has triumphed. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished by every pious mind, but hardly to be expected in the present state of error, confusion and sin. Names are mighty things; and the dexterous use of them often gives to falsehood the semblance of truth, and to truth the appearance of falsehood. No candid and honest mind will knowingly receive falsehood, or reject truth; but there are motives of various kinds which operate on our passions, and discolour, obscure, or disturb our mental vision. How far these remarks are applicable to Dr. Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*, it shall be the object of the following pages to determine.

In the Philadelphia edition of 1820, a copy of which I have before me, an "Address to the Lord Bishop of St. David's" is prefixed, which seems to have been intended as a general preface; partly to account for the publication in 1818 of a correspondence "written in the latter part of 1801 and the first months of 1802," and partly to comment on a publication by Dr. Burgess, entitled "The Protestant's Catechism." In this address, assuming, as all the writers on his side do, that the Roman Communion is exclusively the Catholic Church, he complains of "the increased and increasing virulence of the press against Catholics," and charges some of the Bishop's "colleagues" as accusing them of *idolatry, blasphemy and sacrilege*, of being *enemies of all law, human*

and divine, and of holding a religion *fit only for persons weak in body and in mind, and calculated for the meridian of hell.** He charges the Bishop himself as holding *paradoxical* opinions, as violating *truth and consistency*, and so inclined to persecute that "*he would have the whole code of penal laws with all their incapacities, fines, imprisonments, hanging, drawing and quartering, re-enacted.*"†

These charges against Dr. Burgess and other Bishops, whom he does not name, were indignantly denied, at the time in which they were made, by Dr. Grier;‡ and their very enormity, unsupported as they are by any quotations, blunts their point, and weakens their force. But supposing them true, how easy would it be to recriminate, if recrimination could do any thing but increase the evil! To mention no other of Dr. Milner's compeers, than Dr. Walmesley, who assumed the name of Pastorini, let me ask if the Exposition of the Apocalypse by that writer, in which he makes *the locusts from the bottomless pit with their scorpion stings§* to mean THE PROTESTANTS, had any of that "*mild and enlightened character*" which Dr. Milner ascribes to "the Author of that *most ingenious and learned Commentary.*"||

But Dr. Milner, and the men of that age have gone to their last account, and are beyond the reach of our censure, whether for praise or blame. If courteousness, candour and moderation, fair argument, the honest quotation of authorities, and whatever else may constitute the virtues of a champion for religious truth, have on either side been violated; if rudeness, artifice, virulence, sophistry, perversion and falsehood have marked the character of any of the combatants; let us remember that He who "searcheth the hearts and trieth the reins," allows of no appeal from the severity of His justice, and will condemn us the more if we judge them with severity and yet *imitate their example!*

Not the person of Dr. Milner, but his work is that with which we have to do; nor would it be thought necessary to revive a controversy which has now been slumbering for

* Address, p. xiv.

† Address, p. xviii.

‡ See Grier's Reply, prefatory remarks, pp. iii., xxx-i., and Defence, Introductory Chapter, p. 3.

§ Rev. ix. 2-11.

|| Milner's Inquiry, p. 83, quoted by Grier, Defence, pp. 3-6.

more than twenty years, if it had not been that his work is still circulated with untiring industry, as being in itself unanswerable. That it was so considered by eminent persons of his communion, when it was first published, is certain. The late Charles Butler, the antagonist of Dr. Southey, called it "the ablest exposition of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church on the Articles contested with her by Protestants; and the ablest statement of the proofs by which they are supported, and of the historical facts with which they are connected, that has appeared in our language."* But why should no notice be now taken of Dr. Grier's Reply? or of Dr. Phillpott's animadversions in his letters to Mr. Butler? to say nothing of the other able publications by which Dr. Milner's book was answered when it first appeared? There can be no End of Controversy, if books, which have been answered over and over again, are re-published and constantly circulated, without the least notice being taken of all that has been said on the opposite side. The state of the question has very much changed since Dr. Milner wrote. Twenty years ago it was as much a *political* as a *religious* controversy. "Catholic Emancipation," as it was called, was then the war-cry. In that respect the victory in Great Britain and Ireland has been gained. In America, with it is believed but one or two exceptions,† no political incapacities have ever been created, since the United States became a nation. Why then circulate a book, now and here, which has constant reference to a state of things no longer existing? As far as doctrines, and proofs, and historical facts are concerned, we are willing to meet this "*ablest* of all expositions and statements." But, with regard to the political struggle, it is not the Roman Communion, but the united Church of England and Ireland, with her children, which is now in bondage. The English communion has never received an equivalent for the repeal of the test-acts. The connection of the Church with the State subjects her to parliamentary enactments, in which her adversaries have now a most powerful voice. She is deprived of her Constitutional Synods; and her Bishops are nominated often by ungodly statesmen, who think more of

* Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 10, as cited by the present Bishop of Exeter in his Letters on that work. 2d ed. Lond. 1826. p. 18.

† I allude to New Hampshire.

supporting their political party than of adding lustre to her piety, orthodoxy or learning. She cannot obtain from parliament grants of money for the education of her poor, for the erection of her churches, for the religious wants of her colonies, or for the better maintenance of her laborious incumbents and missionaries. Maynooth, the Irish seminary for priests of the Roman communion, is endowed with a princely revenue by the State, while St. Augustine's in Canterbury, and Trinity in Perth, are supported only by the voluntary offerings of her faithful laity. In fact, there is at present, among the rulers of Great Britain and Ireland, a greater inclination to favour the Communion of Rome, than that of England.

Such being the actual state of things, all that is said by Dr. Milner concerning the persecution of his brethren, will now be considered only as matter of history. If they have suffered wrong, they have also, by his own concession, inflicted wrong. Both shall be considered when we come to the letter in which he treats of religious persecution. Our arrangement must be governed by his.

Over unreflecting minds the Frontispiece and the Title of Dr. Milner's book have much influence. The Frontispiece is called a Vine, but is much more like a Cedar, reaching from earth to heaven. The inventor has, it is true, placed Christ crucified as the vine; but he places St. Peter over his head, with the succession of the Papal See to Pius VII., who was reigning when Dr. Milner wrote. Above is the symbol of the Holy Trinity, with the angels and faithful departed; and at the extremity of each branch are the lopped and withered members which are, or are to be, thrown into the fire. Swedenborg, Whitfield and Wesley, Jansen, Arminius and Gomar, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Calvin and Luther, are among these withered branches on the one side; and Condorcet, Robespierre and *Brienne* (!) Zinzendorff, Voltaire and Rousseau, George Fox, Bayle, Chillingworth and Servetus, Queen Elizabeth, the Protector Somerset, and Henry VIII., on the other. *Happily good Edward VI. and Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, are not named*, and so we need only put in our demurrer, and pass on to the Title.

Though adroitly chosen, it is borrowed from a book long since consigned to oblivion. Certamen Religiosum,

or Religious Controversy, was the title of a book published by Dr. Thomas Bayly, in 1649, purporting to be a conference between Charles I. and the Marquis of Worcester, "but blamed," says Wood, "by the true sons of the Church of England—because the Romish cause is there set out in great pomp, he being then warping towards, if not altogether drawn over, to the Church of Rome, and it was looked upon by some as nothing else but his prologue, in order to the declaring himself a Papist," &c. "He . . . became a grand zealot in that interest, wherein (if he met with any occasion) he would break forth into rage and fury against the Protestant religion, which he before had preached and professed. . . . From Holland he went into Flanders, and settling for a time at Doway, he published, in 1654, 'THE END TO CONTROVERSIE between the Rom. Catholick and Protestant Religions, justified by all the several manner of ways, whereby all kind of Controversies of what nature soever, are usually or can possibly be determined.'"^{*}

This title of Dr. Bayly's book being in part adopted for a work of similar design, Dr. Milner imagined "a religious society of Protestants," entering into "a friendly correspondence" with him as "a Roman Catholic divine."—I say *imagined*, because his antagonist Dr. Grier affirmed *at the time*, that is, in 1821, when the fact could easily be ascertained, that he "set up a fictitious Society of Protestant Correspondents, and shaped the letters ascribed to them in such a way as to make his own replies appear triumphant."[†] Of the supposititious character of this society there seems to be internal evidence in its heterogeneous combination, and the imbecility of its members. Mr. James Brown is one of those whom the Times newspaper has since so happily called "the High and Dry." He glories in being "*a staunch member of our happy establishment*;" while Mrs. Brown, though she "*professes an equal attachment to the Church—cannot refrain from frequenting the meetings and supporting the missions of those who undermine*"—the Church! Dr. Carey, the worthy rector, like most others of his learned and dignified brethren, is of a free and liberal turn of mind, (!) *explaining*

^{*} Athenæ Oxon, vol. i. p. 486-7.

[†] Grier's Reply, prefatory address, p. iv.

away the mysteries, and a great many other Articles" of the Church of England, which Mr. Brown, when he was a boy, believed.—Mr. and Mrs. Topham are of the Predestinarian and Antinomian class of Methodists; Mr. and Mrs. Askew mitigated Arminians of Wesley's connection; Mr. and Mrs. Rankin, honest Quakers; Mr. Barker and his children, *rationa' dissenters* who have almost universally gone into Socinianism!*

Whether this curious Society were, or were not, men of straw, set up like nine-pins for the purpose of being knocked down by Dr. Milner's superior rolling, they were just such a company as a wily polemic would like to meet. The letters from James Brown Esq., and the Essays of the Rev. Samuel Carey, LL. D. together with the occasional letters of Friend Rankin and Mr. Ebenezer Topham, and the extracts from the Rev. N. N., prebendary of N., hardly amount to the number necessary for the game, and are beneath contempt. The letters of Dr. Milner, on the other hand, are about forty-five in number, kept for eighteen years under the polishing process of the author. Such is the general plan of Dr. Milner's End of Religious Controversy. The several subjects are arranged under three heads, forming as many parts. The first is on the rule of faith or the method of finding out the true religion. The second, on the characteristics of the true Church. The third, on rectifying mistakes concerning the Catholic Church. This order I shall of course follow.

CHAPTER I.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

DR. MILNER's first letters are occupied in the arrangement of preliminaries. He requires that no offence be taken by his Protestant friends if he uses great plainness of speech; † and they on their part promise, provided they may "censure many of his popes and other clergy," that they will not be

* Letter I.

† Letter II.

angry and quarrel with him for what he may say of Calvin, George Fox, James Naylor or even Latimer and Cranmer! * Calvin and Cranmer in juxtaposition with George Fox and James Naylor! Dr. Milner well understands the art of putting his antagonists in suspicious company! He discourses with great unction about the danger of self-deception, the necessity of freedom from religious prejudices, of sincerity in seeking for truth in opposition to worldly interests, of earnestness to serve God and save their souls! † If we were to do the same to members of his communion, we should insult them. They, forsooth, and all converts to their faith, have no need of such warnings! He proposes especially, the example of Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, who was a relation "of his Majesty," i. e. of George IV., and therefore peculiarly a pattern for Englishmen. He, when he had begun to doubt the truth of Lutheranism, prayed for the gifts of the Holy Ghost, resolved to forsake sin, was ready to embrace the indications of grace and the light of reason, and did all in the fear of God's righteous judgment! The consequence was that he embraced the faith of Rome! All this is the beginning of a gentle and sly assumption that *his* is the Catholic Church!

Having thus skillfully arranged his preliminaries, Dr. Milner devotes his sixth and seventh letters, to what he calls the first false rule of faith, *private inspiration*. This he defines to mean ‡ "an immediate light and motion of God's Spirit communicated to each individual." Under this rule he classes the ancient Montanists, the Anabaptists, the Family of Love, the Fifth-monarchy-men, the Quakers, the Muggletonians, the Labbadists, the Moravians, the Swedenborgians and the Methodists.

The second of these false rules, in Dr. Milner's estimation, is "*the written Word of God or THE BIBLE, according as it is understood by each particular reader or hearer of it.*" "This," he says, "is the professed rule of the more regular sects of Protestants, such as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, the Church-of-England-men! The third rule is *THE WORD OF GOD at large, whether written in the Bible or handed down from the Apostles in continued succession, by the*

* Letter III.

† Letter IV.

‡ Letter VI.

*Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by this Church.** And then he condescendingly adds; "The question which remains for our inquiry is, whether the rule or method prescribed by the Church of England and other more rational classes of Protestants, or that prescribed by the Catholic Church, is the one designed by our Saviour Christ for finding out his true religion."† The Protestants or the Catholic Church! Modest assumption! It leads irresistibly to the remembrance of a conversation between the late Pope Gregory XVI. when he was Cardinal, and a distinguished Lutheran gentleman from whom, in 1831, I received the narrative. While they were conversing familiarly together, the Cardinal used the expression—*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*—out of the Church there is no salvation. We believe so too, replied the Lutheran. The Cardinal started and said, Do you believe that we shall be damned? —We are not so uncharitable, said the other. We believe that by baptism men are made members of the Catholic Church, and Christ himself hath pronounced baptism to be necessary to salvation. *Ah!* replied the Cardinal, with a sigh, *but our Church UNFORTUNATELY teaches that out of the Roman Church there is no salvation!* *Disgraziatamente*, unfortunately, unhappily, or calamitously, was the very word he used. The Church of Rome has, *very unfortunately and calamitously for her*, decreed herself to be infallible. She has thereby tied a millstone about her neck, which, if she casts it not off, will finally drown her in the depths of the sea. I doubt not that *many* of her sons re-echo the sigh of Gregory XVI., from the bottom of their hearts; and if report speaks true, his successor, Pius IX., must be of that number. But what can they do? The Pope, as well as the meanest of his clergy, is the slave of his own system. He can do nothing without the consistory of his Cardinals; and the pride of consistency operates to prevent the acknowledgment of error.

We may as well consider this question now about the term Catholic; for the assumption runs through the whole of Dr. Milner's book, and is indeed the point concerning which the members of his communion are the most tenacious and sensitive.

* Letter VI.

† Letter VIII.

In his XXVth letter, speaking of Catholicity as his "third mark of the true Church," he says: "Is there not, among the rival churches, one exclusively known and distinguished by the name and title of **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**, as well in England, Holland, and other countries which *protest* against this church, as in those which adhere to it? Does not this effulgent mark of the true religion so incontestably belong to us, in spite of every effort to obscure it by the nick-names of *Papists, Romanists, &c.*, that the rule of St. Cyril and St. Augustin is as good and certain now as it was in their times? *What I mean is this*; if any stranger, in London, Edinburgh, or Amsterdam, were to ask his way to the *Catholic chapel*, I would risk my life for it that no sober Protestant inhabitant would direct him to any other place of worship than ours." And again, in the same letter, speaking of "*candid Protestants*," he says, "Every time that each of them addresses the God of Truth, either in solemn worship, or in private devotion, he fails not to repeat, *I believe in THE CATHOLIC Church*: and yet if I ask him the question, *Are you a CATHOLIC?* he is sure to answer me, *No, I am a PROTESTANT!* Was there ever a more glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation among rational beings!"

Well argued, Dr. Milner! Capital appeal *ad verecundiam!* A Protestant who is foolish enough to say that he is not a Catholic, deserves all you have said of him. What "the rule of St. Cyril and St. Augustin" was, shall be considered when we come to the subject. Our concern now is with the argument which Dr. Milner draws from the *assumed concession* of his adversaries.

The whole proceeds from a juggle of the word **CATHOLIC**, the dexterous substitution of one usage of the term for another. At the risk of being tedious, I must state the senses in which it has been used by Greek writers, to stop, if I can, this war of words.

It first signifies, universal, or general. Thus the general resurrection at the last day is called the *Catholic* resurrection; and the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the whole world, is called the *Catholic* sacrifice.*

* After the new arrangement of the Roman Empire by Constantine, when the whole 118 provinces were consolidated into 13 Dioceses, the

In Ecclesiastical usage, the Catholic Church signified, the Church Universal, or General, dispersed through the whole world. From this general signification arose other shades of meaning. Considering the church as *one*, having *one* Lord, *one* Faith, *one* Baptism, and as having on earth no abiding city, it was usual, even from Apostolic times, to speak of the *Catholic* Church, *sojourning* in particular places. The rise of heresies, separating themselves from this *Catholic* Church, led to another and a more confined sense of the term; and this sense more especially prevailed when the Arians, supported by imperial power, had obtained in the East an undue preponderance. They who held the primitive Catholic faith were exclusively called Catholics. Sozomen expressly asserts (Lib. vii. c. 4.) that by a rescript of the Emperor Theodosius, they only were to be called the Catholic Church who worshipped the Holy Trinity as equal in glory, and that all who believed or taught otherwise were to be accounted heretics. The Arians fell with the political power which supported them; but unhappily the *Catholics* became divided among themselves, and after the middle of the fifth century, the Church was no longer what it was before that period.

All this the well-informed members of the Roman Communion know; and it is disingenuous in them to apply the language which preceded those unhappy divisions, to a state of things essentially different. The Armenians, the Syrians, and the Greeks, hold the ancient creeds, retain the ancient Catholic liturgies, and have the same Apostolic priesthood, which were from the beginning the characteristics of Catholic faith and order.

Observe now the little artifice and sly management by which the term *Catholic* Church is substituted for the *Roman* Communion, and all who *protest* against the novelties of that communion, are said to *protest* against the *Catholic* Church! We wish not to *give* or unreasonably to *take* offence. But must we consent to surrender the name of Catholic to please these gentlemen? Or must we abstain from calling them *Papists* and *Romanists*, while they make no scruple in call-

ing us *Heretics* and *Schismatics*? As they, and they alone, maintain the supremacy of the Italian Bishop who presides over the see of Rome, and who has arrogated to himself the name of *Papa* which was formerly common to *all* Bishops, those who uphold his claims are properly called *Papists*. As they, and they alone, maintain that the *Roman Church* is the *mother* and *mistress* of *all* churches, no term can be more appropriate than that of *Romanists*. These are not nick-names, as Dr. Milner asserts, for a nick-name is one given in scoff or contempt. But God knows that we give them with grief, not in derision. They are forced upon us by the unhappy schisms which have rent the Catholic Church. We cannot do as they desire—call them *Catholics*; for this would be an acknowledgment that we are *not* Catholics. We agree with him that it would in us be a most “glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation.” In the original sense of the term, we are not so arrogant as to claim the title of the Catholic or Universal Church. But in those derivative senses which were in use from the time of Ignatius and Polycarp to the middle of the fifth century we *are* Catholics. Nay, we are *more strictly and properly Catholics* than they of the Roman Communion; for we hold, as I hope to show in the course of these pages, those characteristics, and those only, by which the Catholics of the first four centuries were essentially distinguished. This cannot justly be said of them; for they have added twelve articles to the faith once delivered to the saints, and have pronounced all to be under anathema who do not receive them. To give them even the qualified name of *Roman Catholics*, is a stretch of courtesy in our own wrong which ought never to be conceded until they admit that our communion are *English* or *Anglo-Catholics*. To avoid all offensive phraseology, without surrendering any right, I shall always speak of them as the Roman Communion.

ing us *Heretics* and *Schismatics*? As they, and they alone, maintain the supremacy of the Italian Bishop who presides over the see of Rome, and who has arrogated to himself the name of *Papa* which was formerly common to *all* Bishops, those who uphold his claims are properly called *Papists*. As they, and they alone, maintain that the *Roman Church* is the *mother* and *mistress* of *all* churches, no term can be more appropriate than that of *Romanists*. These are not nick-names, as Dr. Milner asserts, for a nick-name is one given in scoff or contempt. But God knows that we give them with grief, not in derision. They are forced upon us by the unhappy schisms which have rent the Catholic Church. We cannot do as they desire—call them *Catholics*; for this would be an acknowledgment that we are *not* Catholics. We agree with him that it would in us be a most “glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation.” In the original sense of the term, we are not so arrogant as to claim the title of the Catholic or Universal Church. But in those derivative senses which were in use from the time of Ignatius and Polycarp to the middle of the fifth century we *are* Catholics. Nay, we are *more strictly and properly Catholics* than they of the Roman Communion; for we hold, as I hope to show in the course of these pages, those characteristics, and those only, by which the Catholics of the first four centuries were essentially distinguished. This cannot justly be said of them; for they have added twelve articles to the faith once delivered to the saints, and have pronounced all to be under anathema who do not receive them. To give them even the qualified name of *Roman Catholics*, is a stretch of courtesy in our own wrong which ought never to be conceded until they admit that our communion are *English* or *Anglo-Catholics*. To avoid all offensive phraseology, without surrendering any right, I shall always speak of them as the Roman Communion.

But to return to the subject which is now properly before us, the Rule of Faith: as the author has very indulgently allowed that we are not under the first false rule, it is not necessary to defend ourselves where we are not attacked. Yet I cannot but marvel that he should have allowed this, when he qualifies his second false rule of faith, the Bible, by saying, “according as it is understood by each particular

reader or hearer of it." He commends the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh because in examining the question at issue between the Lutherans and the Roman Communion he "earnestly implored the aid and grace of the Holy Ghost, and with all his power begged the light of true faith from God the father of lights."* What was this, I ask, but to pray for private inspiration? or did he mean to insinuate that the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Methodists, and others whom he placed under his first false rule, depend solely on their private inspiration and reject the Bible? or that the Lutherans and Calvinists, whom he places under his second false rule, "the Bible as understood by each particular reader," think no "motion of God's Spirit" necessary to understand the Bible? or did he mean to assert that both they under the first rule, and they under the second, never pray for "the aid and grace of the Holy Ghost?" or that there are not in all these sects sincere and honest men who, like the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh "make a strong resolution, by the grace of God, to avoid sin?" If he did not so insinuate or mean, I ask, where is the distinction between his first and second rules? And if they whom he includes under them, like the duke, renounce "all sorts of prejudices which incline men to one religion more than another;" if they, like the duke, bring themselves "to a perfect indifference so as to be ready to embrace whichever the grace of the Holy Ghost and the light of reason should point out to them, without any regard to the advantages and inconveniences that might attend it in this world;" if they, like the duke, "enter upon this deliberation and choice" as they would "wish to have done it at the hour of death, and in a full conviction that at the day of judgment they must give an account to God why they followed this religion in preference to all the rest;"† then I ask whether the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh was not as much governed by "private inspiration" and "private interpretation" as the greatest Protestant fanatic or enthusiast whom Dr. Milner could name? The fact is, that private judgment is absolutely necessary in all rational and accountable creatures for the very reason assigned by the duke, that "man has but one soul which

* Letter IV.

† Ib.

will be eternally either damned or saved;" and the necessity of private inspiration, to enlighten the understanding and purify the heart, is acknowledged by all who believe that the influences of the Holy Ghost are necessary. The question is only *as to the bounds within which private judgment is to be exercised*. Dr. Milner ought to have known, and his brethren ought now to know, that the Church of England and the Churches in communion with her, never have admitted the extravagant exercise of private judgment which he imputes to them. They hold the ancient creeds. They maintain, throughout the Prayer-book, the Catholic interpretation of the Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice. They pray continually against "false-doctrine, heresy, and schism;" and "for the Catholic Church, that it may be so guided by God's good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." They court investigation whether throughout the Prayer-book any *sectarian* principle can be found, inconsistent with the faith of the first four centuries. The consequence is, that no man who becomes thoroughly imbued with their system, and practices according to it, the duties of the Christian life, can use the right of private judgment extravagantly. They require no more with regard to their rule of faith than what the Holy Ghost himself commendeth in praising the example of the pious Jews of Berea:* "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so."

After all this flourish, then, about the first, second, and third rules of faith, the simple question at issue is, whether the Bible, the written Word of God, or what Dr. Milner calls the Word of God at large, whether written or unwritten, as received and understood and explained by the Roman Communion, is the proper rule of faith. To this question we will now proceed.

* Acts xvii. 11.

CHAPTER II.

TRADITION.

"HANCED down," says Dr. Milner, "from the apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by this Church." Tradition is rather a suspicious word, and so Dr. Milner, for fear of startling his Protestant readers in the outset, substitutes for it "Hanced down." And then follows exactly the same sort of juggle as he uses every where with regard to the word Catholic; that is to say, the dexterous substitution of *one sense* in which the word tradition is used for *another*. We are again reduced to the necessity of verbal criticism, before the subject can be made perfectly clear to the reader.

The Greek word *παράδοσις* answers to the Latin *trado*, and signifies in the bad sense *betray*, and in the good sense *deliver* or *hand over* from one to another. It is so used, according as the sense requires, both in the authorized Latin and English translations, and in the Old as well as the New Testament. God *delivered* the law to Moses, and Moses *delivered* it to the children of Israel. It was therefore a *tradition* handed down from God to Moses, and from Moses to the twelve tribes. The commands of God thus *delivered* to Moses were by him *committed to writing*; and his autograph was deposited in the Holy of Holies, and every seventh year was brought out with great solemnity, and read to the assembled people.* Numerous copies of it were made by express command; and every one who possessed a copy had an opportunity once in seven years to compare his copy with the original. Thus was it *handed down* from age to age; and even after the sacred original had perished, if it did so perish, in the flames of the first temple, there was hardly the possibility of error in the recension of the divinely inspired Ezra, after the Babylonish Captivity. This *tradition* from God by the hand of Moses, thus *delivered*, continued until the time of our Lord Christ, and was honoured by Him as the commandment of God. But *He did not so honour the tradition of the elders*; for He accused the Pharisees of

* Deut. xxxi. 9-13.

transgressing and even nullifying the commandment of God (*δὴ*) by means of *their tradition*.*

In the Jewish Talmud the word *Masora* signifies *Tradition*; and the Masoretic Jews hold precisely the same theory with regard to the unwritten law, which is now held by the Roman Communion concerning the unwritten word of God in the Christian Church. It is obvious, therefore, that the word *TRADITION* may be employed in different senses, and that its value depends upon the sources from which it is derived. The Jews would not give the title of Mishna, or second law, to their traditions unless they believed that they were of divine origin, and had been orally handed down from the time of Moses and Aaron and the elders.† We proceed then to examine the authority of Tradition, in its various senses, as received and taught in the Roman Communion.

Cardinal Bellarmine, "the most *acute*, the most *methodical*, the most *comprehensive*, and at the same time one of the most *candid*, among the controversialists of the Church of Rome," as a late English Bishop justly calls him,‡ acknowledges the truth of what has now been remarked; for he says,§ "Tradition signifies all doctrine *whether written or unwritten*, which is communicated from one to another." He adds, however, that this word is taken by theologians in the more confined sense of *unwritten* doctrine, in contradistinction to *Scripture*, not because such doctrine was never written, but as not written by its original author. He then divides traditions under two heads: the first so denominated from their authors, the second from their subject-matter. This second division of traditions, he further subdivides into traditions *de fide et de moribus*, concerning faith and manners or morals. They are also, he says, perpetual or temporary, universal or particular, necessary or (*libera*) indifferent. With the exception of *perpetual* tradition, or tradition instituted that it should always be observed to the end of the world, *universal* tradition, delivered to be observed by the whole Church, and *necessary* tradition, delivered in the form of precept, the other traditions classed under this head are not

* S. Matt. xv. 2-9.

† Robinson's Calmet, Art. Talmud.

‡ Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, p. 4.

§ "Nomen traditionis generale est et significat omnem doctrinam, sive scriptam sive non scriptam, quæ ab uno communicatur alteri."

binding upon the conscience. Such are, *de fide*, the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary, and that there were only four gospels; and *de moribus*, the sign of the cross, fasts or feasts on certain days, &c. It is plain, therefore, that this second division, excepting the perpetual, universal, and necessary traditions, cannot be considered, even by the Roman Communion, as coming within their rule of faith. We are confined, therefore, to the first division; and as that is very fairly abridged from Bellarmine, by Bishop Marsh, I shall give it in his words. "The first kind Bellarmine calls *divine* tradition; which relates to doctrines delivered to the apostles by *Christ himself*, but which, though *taught* also by the apostles, were left by them *unrecorded*. The *second* kind he calls *apostolical* tradition; which relates to doctrines likewise taught by the apostles, and likewise left *unrecorded*; yet so far differing from the former kind that the apostles received them not from the instructions of Christ, but from the dictates of the *Holy Spirit*. Now doctrines taught by the apostles, whether originally received from *Christ himself*, or afterwards suggested to them by the *Holy Spirit*, were, in either case, doctrines *apostolical*: and hence the term 'apostolical,' though used as an epithet descriptive of the *second* kind, is frequently applied also to tradition of the *first* kind. On the other hand, the term 'divine,' though used as an epithet descriptive of the *first* kind, is applied also to tradition of the *second* kind. For doctrines, suggested to the apostles by the *Holy Spirit*, were no less *divine* than the doctrines which they had received from Christ himself. It appears then that *both* kinds may properly be referred to one and the same *class*; and they frequently are so referred. Indeed, they are *always* comprehended in the term '*tradition*,' when tradition is used, as at present, to denote the *unwritten Word of God*: for they are nothing less than the *constituent parts* of that unwritten Word.

"But . . . there is a *third* kind of tradition mentioned by Bellarmine which must be carefully distinguished from the two former, as it is *totally different* from them, both in *origin* and in *quality*. The two former claim a *divine* origin; and, indeed, unless a divine origin were *ascribed* to them, they could not be *at all* considered as a part of God's Word. But the *third* kind of tradition is confessedly of *human* origin; and is *described* as such by" Bellarmine himself; "for he says:

'Ecclesiastical traditions are properly those ancient *customs* begun by *prelates* or *people*, which gradually, and by tacit consent, have obtained the force of *law*.'"^{*}

Now the Church of England, and the Churches in communion with her, do not deny, certainly, what an Apostle has asserted,[†] that the written gospels do not contain all that Jesus did or said. Nor do they deny that the Apostles, in proclaiming the Gospel and establishing the Church, did and said many things which could not properly enter into the apostolic writings which have been transmitted to us. Let it be proved, then, that any doctrine or practice proceeded from Christ and His Apostles, and we receive and embrace it. "The question is not," as Bellarmine well observes, "how great is the force of divine and apostolic traditions, *but whether any tradition be truly divine or apostolical*." By an examination of the Prayer-book, it will be seen that the very examples by which Bellarmine illustrates his meaning as to what constitute divine and apostolic traditions, viz., the matter and form of the sacraments instituted by Christ, the baptism of infants, the Lenten fast, the ember-days at the four seasons, and we may add the observance of the Lord's day or first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath, are all expressly admitted in our communion, though, as we shall soon see, for a different reason. We may say boldly, that all which can be fairly proved to have been practices enjoined by Christ or his Apostles, are by us observed. Bellarmine, on the authority of St. Cyprian, speaks of the mixture of wine and water in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. He has slightly misrepresented his authority; for St. Cyprian is arguing with the Enekratitæ of his day against the use of water only, without wine, not the use of wine only, without water.[‡] This is a very essential difference. But, admitting the fact that it was an apostolic tradition, they who consider it so may lawfully practice it; for in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. it was enjoined, and in the subsequent revisions it was not forbidden. Bishop Andrews always used it, and in his office for the consecration of

^{*} Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, lib. iv. cap. ii., and Marsh, Comparative View, pp. 6-8.

[†] St. John, xx. 30, 31; xxi. 24, 25.

[‡] S. Cypr. Op. Epist. 63, ad Cæcilium.

churches, ordered it to be used.* In the Scottish communion office, the injunction of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. is not retained, and yet the practice continues. Bishop Seabury to his dying day mingled a little water in the cup. His successor, though he approved the practice, considered it as among the *adiaphora*, or things indifferent. Bishop Clagget of Maryland, it is believed, always retained it. The question, like that of leavened or unleavened bread, should never be considered of sufficient moment to furnish ground for separation.

With regard to all these *traditions*, however, it must be observed that they were not *oral*, but *ocular*. "It is not," as Bishop Marsh justly observes, "with *doctrines* as it is with *ceremonies*, or even with the usages of *civil law*. The daily practice of the *Church*, or the daily practice of *courts of justice*, may preserve unaltered, through a succession of ages, the forms which are apparent to the *external senses*. But articles of *faith* which are objects only of the *inward sense*, must *unavoidably*, when transmitted only from *mouth to mouth*, undergo in a *very short period* material alterations. It is therefore in the highest degree improbable that *any* doctrine coming from Christ and his Apostles, should have been left unrecorded in the New Testament."†

What then does St. Paul mean when he praises the Corinthians ‡ for keeping *τὰς παραδόσεις*, the *traditions*, rendered in our translation *the ordinances*, and in that of St. Jerome, *præcepta*, the *precepts*, he had delivered to them? We answer, that St. Jerome and our translation have honestly given the meaning. The whole context shows that they were rules of discipline.

And what does the same Apostle mean when he says to the Thessalonians, § "Stand fast and hold *τὰς παραδόσεις*, the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle?" We answer, precisely what he meant in 1 Cor. xi. 2, and as St. Jerome and consequently the Rheims version have there rendered it, *precepts*. And so it clearly means in the next chapter, || "Now we command you, brethren,

* Wheatley, c. 6, § 10. Sparrow's Collection, pp. 395, 396.

† Marsh's Compar. View, pp. 67, 68. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 2.

§ 2 Thess. ii. 15.

|| 2 Thess. iii. 6.

ren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν*, after the *tradition* which he received of us." The Apostle proceeds immediately to illustrate his meaning: "For yourselves know how ye *ought to follow us*; for we behaved not ourselves *disorderly* among you." In other words, both by *precept* and *example* we commanded you—not to be idle—not to be busy-bodies—not to be weary in well doing, "and if any man *obey* not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed." The context shows clearly that to the Thessalonians as well as to the Corinthians, the *traditions* of which the Apostle spake were *rules of discipline*.

But it may be asked, Why did our translators render the same word, *παράδοσις*, in 1 Cor. xi. 2, *ordinances*, and in 2 Thess. ii. 15, *traditions*? We answer, because they well knew the use made of the latter text, and wished to avoid the imputation cast upon the previous translators, in the note to the Rhemish version. Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, A. D. 1539–40, translates both 1 Cor. xi. 2 and 2 Thess. ii. 15, "*keepe the ordinaunces*;" and 2 Thess. iii. 6, "*after the institution whyche ye received of us*." The Geneva or Puritan Bible, A. D. 1560, has, 1 Cor. xi. 2, "*keepe the ordinances*;" 2 Thess. ii. 15, "*keepe the instructions*;" iii. 6, "*after the instruction*." The Bishops' Bible, A. D. 1568, reads, 1 Cor. xi. 2, "*keepe the ordinances*;" 2 Thess. ii. 15, "*keepe the instructions*;" iii. 6, "*after the instruction*." Hence, in the notes to the Rhemish translation, A. D. 1582, it is said, "The Heretikes," meaning by this term the English translators, "purposely, guilfully, and of il conscience—refraigne in their translations, from the ecclesiastical and most usual word *tradition* . . . Here, therefore, and in the like places," (and they quote in the margin, 1 Cor. xi.; 2 Thess. iii.) "that the reader might not so easily like of traditions unwritten, here commended by the Apostle, they translate it, *instructions*, *constitutions*, *ordinances*, and what they can invent els, to hide the truth from the simple or unwarie Reader, whose translations have no other end, but to beguile such by art and conveiance." In their zeal to convict the English translators of guile, deceit, and fraud, the Jesuits of Rheims wound not only St. Jerome but themselves too; for,

in 1 Cor. xi. 2, they follow him in translating *παράδοσις* not *traditions*, but *precepts*; and it will be hard to show that *precepts* do not mean *ordinances* or *instructions*. But to show that there was no fear, and no dishonesty or ill design, the translators of King James's Bible, A. D. 1611, translated in the several texts as St. Jerome and the Rhemish translators had set them the example. It will be evident, therefore, to every candid and ingenuous mind, that there is no disposition on our part to evade the true intent and meaning of St. Paul's language. On the contrary, we say, and that plainly and openly, that it is an arrogant assumption of the very point at issue, to assert that he meant THE UNWRITTEN *tradition* of *his doctrine*. We say that in the fourteen epistles which bear his name, he *did record* the doctrine which he, as a divinely inspired Apostle, thought it necessary to *deliver*, in addition to the already written doctrine of the Holy Scriptures as received by him. St. Paul's *traditions* of doctrine were WRITTEN TRADITIONS. His Epistles to the Thessalonians were among the earliest, and are comparatively short. Who will undertake to prove that doctrines, not recorded in them, were not *afterwards* recorded in his other epistles? "If he recorded them *any where*," as Bishop Marsh justly observes, "they are not *at present*," (and *were not*, I will add, in the age succeeding his, in the sense of *unwritten* but *written* verities,) "apostolical traditions. What they *were* when he wrote to the Thessalonians is a question foreign to the purpose."*

Having thus seen the various senses of the word *tradition*, let us now proceed to state clearly the difference on this subject between the *Roman* and *English* communions. I have before me the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, in the authentic edition printed at Rome in 1564. From the fourth session, celebrated on the eighth of April, 1546, at p. xx., I lay before the reader the following extract: "This sacred œumenical and general Synod of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, and presided over by the three Legates of the Apostolic See, having this object perpetually in view, that, errors being removed, the real purity of the Gospel may be preserved in the Church, which, promised

* Comp. View, p. 67.

aforetime by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated by his *own mouth*, and afterwards ordained to be preached to every creature by the *Apostles*, as being a fountain both of *saving truth* and *instruction of manners* (*morum disciplinæ*); knowing, further, that this truth and instruction is contained in the *written books* and in the *unwritten traditions*, which, having been received by the *Apostles* either from the mouth of *Christ himself*, or from the dictates of the *Holy Spirit*, were handed down and transmitted even to *us*; following the example of the orthodox Fathers, *receives and venerates, with sentiments of equal piety and reverence* (*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur*), all the books, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, since one God was the Author of them both, and also the TRADITIONS relating as well to *faith* as to *morals*, inasmuch as, coming either from the mouth of *Christ himself*, or dictated by the *Holy Spirit*, they have been preserved in the Catholic Church in uninterrupted succession." It then proceeds to enumerate the books which it receives as the canon of Scripture, concerning which we shall have to speak hereafter, and then continues thus: "But if any one shall not receive as sacred and canonical, those entire books, with all their parts, so as they are usually read in the Catholic Church, and contained in the ancient Vulgate Latin edition, or shall knowingly and designedly condemn the aforesaid TRADITIONS, (*anathema sit*), let him be accursed. Let all men, therefore, understand in what order and method this Synod, after laying the foundation of a confession of faith, is about to proceed, and what *testimonies and authorities* it chiefly intends to use for the confirmation of *doctrines* (*dogmatibus*) and the establishment of *morals* (*moribus*) in the Church."*

Although this decree was established in 1546, it was not confirmed until the termination of the Council in 1564. In the mean time two synods of the Church of England were held in London; one in 1552, and the other in 1562. On this subject of the rule of faith, they set forth the following Article:

* Dr. Marsh's Translation, Comp. View, pp. 22-25.

1552.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is neither read therein, nor may be proved thereby although it be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness, yet no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of faith, or reputed requisite to the necessity of salvation.

In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.—Bp. Sparrow's Collection, pp. 42, 92.

1562.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby

is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

We do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.—Bp. Sparrow's Collection, pp. 42, 92.

This Article, it will at once be seen, is in direct opposition to the Decree of the *fourth* session of the Synod of Trent. The Tridentine Council *receives and venerates with equal piety and reverence*, the books which it enumerates as the Canon of Scripture, and the divine and apostolical traditions. It does not indeed use the terms *divine* and *apostolical*, but it clearly defines those traditions, as Bellarmine defined them, to be *unwritten* truth from *Christ* and his *Apostles* handed down and transmitted by and through the Orthodox Fathers even to us, i. e. the Council of Trent. It concludes with a declaration *for all men to know and understand*, what *testimonies* and *authorities* the Synod chiefly intends to use for the confirmation of *doctrines* and the establishment of *morals* in the Church." And it pronounces a CURSE upon all who "knowingly and designedly condemn the aforesaid TRADITIONS."

The Synods of London did not *curse*, but they declared that *no testimony* and *no authority* could be considered as establishing an article of faith, but the *written word of God*. They did not reject "the orthodox Fathers," as *human testimony*; nor did they slight any proof to be gathered from the Fathers either concerning the Canon of Scripture itself, or the right interpretation of Scripture. And as to the *practice* of the Church, they retained, as the Prayer-book shows, all that could be proved to have been handed down from the Apostolic age.

Beside the *Divine* and *Apostolical*, it will be recollected

that a *third* kind of tradition is called by Bellarmine the *Ecclesiastical*. This is confessedly of *human* origin: for he says, "Ecclesiastical traditions are properly those ancient *customs* begun by prelates or people which gradually and by tacit consent have obtained the force of law."* It was against this idea of *prescription* that the two Synods of the English Church directed the present thirty-fourth Article which bears the title "Of the Traditions of the Church," or as expressed in the Latin, *Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ*, Ecclesiastical Traditions.

"It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one or utterly like, for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren." Thus far the Article in both Synods is the same. The Synod of 1562 adds, "Every particular or National Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by men's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."†

The *sixth* Article, then, referred *exclusively* to the *Divine* and *Apostolic* Traditions as the *unwritten Word of God*; the *thirty-fourth* Article, *exclusively* to *Ecclesiastical* Traditions, which being confessedly human, cannot be claimed as the unwritten Word of God, and therefore as a part of the Rule of faith.

The Council of Trent professes only an *equal* veneration for *Scripture* and *Tradition* as constituting together the Rule of faith; but it will be found upon examination that more importance and authority is given to the *unwritten* than to the *written* Word. The *unwritten* Word is considered as

* De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. cap. ii.

† Bp. Sparrow's Collection, pp. 50, 62, 103.

containing *fully and clearly* what the *written* Word does *not* contain, or at most contains *imperfectly and obscurely*. To remedy therefore the supposed deficiencies of the *written* Word, it applies the aid of the *unwritten* Word. The *Comment* claims the *same divine origin* as the *text itself*.*

But what is more : Dr. Milner *cautiously adds*, that this Tradition is to be received "*as it is understood and explained by this Church!*"† This UNWRITTEN WORD OF GOD (*independent, of course, of the Bible, for if found in the Bible it is not unwritten*),—contained in the Fathers, is to be received as the Roman Communion understand and explain the Fathers! Truly, this "*unerring judge of controversy*" must save all men the trouble of thinking ; for we have nothing to do but to receive what they give us ; and there is an end of all controversy !

Let us pause for a moment and reflect upon the enormous character of this assumption. "The real purity of the Gospel," says the Council of Trent, "contained in unwritten Traditions—received by the Apostles—from Christ or the Holy Ghost—handed down and transmitted *even to us*." "The Orthodox Fathers" from the Apostolic age downwards, but only as they are interpreted by those of the Roman Communion!—Eighteen General Councils, from the first council of Nicæa in 325 to that of Trent in 1546, each ratifying and confirming the proceedings of all the preceding councils, but carefully excepting those which decreed any thing different from the testimony allowed by the Roman Church!—All the Canon Law for nearly 1500 years, as far as doctrines are concerned, including even the forgeries which had passed current, and influenced the faith of uncritical and undiscerning ages!—ALL, not only put upon a level with the Bible, *venerated and received* "with sentiments of equal piety and reverence as the unwritten word of Christ and his inspired Apostles," but even *paramount* to the written Word in importance and influence, because full and clear, where the Bible is silent, ambiguous, or obscure!—Can any one imagine a more monstrous assumption? A whole library, and a very large library too, bound down upon the consciences of all men ; and therefore, as all men cannot

* Marsh's Comp. View, p. 15.

† Letter VI.

examine this library themselves, to be received on the oral testimony of an Italian Bishop, and the prelates and priests who hold communion with him? Why, we may well exclaim with the Apostle, why lay such an unbearable yoke upon the neck of Christ's disciples?

In strong contrast with such a burthen, view the declaration of the English Synods. The Bible, the written word of God, in its true intent and meaning, is the only Rule of that faith which is necessary to salvation. But in saying this, they did not intend, as I have before remarked, to exclude "the Orthodox Fathers," as *human* testimony. What they contended against, was the assumption of their evidence being *divine* testimony. They willingly took them as witnesses to matters of fact,—witnesses, the value of whose testimony is to be weighed, just as the value of all testimony is weighed in the ordinary concerns of life. Contemporaneous evidence of faith and practice is always to be received, and is received in the Church, as well as in Courts of justice, with high consideration. Concerning the Bible this testimony is to be regarded, first, as to its genuineness and authenticity ; and, secondly, as to its meaning. We prove the genuineness of the Bible, just as we prove the genuineness of any other ancient book ; only that the proofs in favour of the Bible are vastly greater than for any other book in existence. Manuscripts, versions, and innumerable quotations from age to age, all agreeing in the main, and with those trifling variations

Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura,

the collections of which prove, in the most surprising manner, the general accuracy of the whole ;—these are the proofs by which we sustain the *integrity* of the sacred text. Its *authenticity* we admit on the combined testimony of God's church, before and after the passion of our Lord Christ. It is *traditive* testimony, but it is *human* testimony ; and no one who clearly understands the several meanings of the word Tradition, will confound this with what is meant by the Council of Trent, Bellarmine, and Dr. Milner.

So it is with regard to the true intent and meaning of the Bible. Even Chillingworth, who first used the expression

"the Bible is the religion of Protestants:"* Chillingworth, whom Dr. Milner cannot name without some vituperative epithet, acknowledges the value of traditive interpretation.† This subject is perfectly clear and well understood with regard to human constitutions and ordinances. If any question arise as to the true intent and meaning of a written human law, it is usual to inquire, What was the construction of it when it was first enacted? And if *any continuous practice* can be shown which determines the sense of it when first received, that practice is viewed as a *traditive interpretation*. In applying this to matters of faith, let us take, as an example, the doctrine of the Trinity. No one who goes back to the earliest Christians whose writings have come down to us, can help being struck with the artless and fervent simplicity with which they express their faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as Three in One and One in Three. They may not use all the nice dialectics of a later Theology; but they quote the very same Scriptures which we quote, and in the sense in which we receive them. They therefore afford the most convincing proof that our belief was that of the Holy Catholic Church in the earliest and purest ages. In speaking of the divine and apostolic traditions, it was remarked that all the examples mentioned by Bellarmine, such as Infant Baptism, &c., are received, though for different reasons, by our communion. Infant Baptism is fairly inferred from the Scriptures; and we quote the Fathers on this subject, not as independent of the Bible, but as witnesses to the fact that our interpretation of the Scripture is that traditive interpretation of which Chillingworth speaks, and which we acknowledge as the consentient testimony of the Holy Catholic Church. The change from the *Jewish*, and the observance of the *Christian Sabbath*, is clearly indicated in the Bible; and we show that our interpretation is the ancient and catholic interpretation, by the uniform usage of the Church from Apostolic times. I might go on to speak of the Lenten-fast, the Ember-days at the four seasons, and other arrangements of our Prayer-book, as practices so universal and of such high antiquity that we cannot doubt of

* Chillingw. Works, fol. Lond. 1742, ch. vi. 56.

† Works, ut sup. ch. ii. 69.

their catholicity. But practices of the Church are a traditive testimony addressed to the bodily senses, and "handed down" with a precision which cannot possibly belong to unwritten doctrines. Occasion to speak of this more at large will hereafter occur. The object of the present remarks is to show that they do not properly belong to the same category with Infant Baptism and the Christian Sabbath, which, in the language of the Sixth Article, may be proved by the Scriptures.

The distinction between the Tradition of *Doctrines* and the Tradition of *Ceremonies* must be carefully noted, if we would avoid that confusion which controversial writers and unreflecting readers are so apt to make. Our *Sixth Article* rejects all *Doctrines* which are not founded upon the Bible; our *Thirty-fourth Article* does not reject all *ceremonies*, but requires that they be *not repugnant to the word of God* and that they *tend to edification*. We must in like manner carefully note the distinction between the Tradition of *Doctrine*, and the Tradition of *Testimony*. We may admit, as we have admitted in our *Twentieth Article*, that the Church is "a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ," without any admission of doctrine not contained in Holy Writ. And so with regard to *traditive Interpretation*, that which is interpreted must *first be found in the Scriptures*; and what is not so found there, we reject as a *rule of faith*. But as to the sense in which Scripture is to be understood, the consentient testimony of the Universal Church, according to the rule of Vincent of Lerins, is only the reason and learning of the whole Church as applied to a particular case.

CHAPTER III.

THE BIBLE, OR THE WRITTEN TRADITION.

DR. MILNER commences his attack upon the Bible as the sole rule of faith, by asserting that "if Christ had intended that all mankind should learn his religion from a book, namely the *New Testament*, he himself would have written

that book."* This is about as wise a remark as that of the unbeliever mentioned by Paley, that "if God had given a revelation, he would have written it in the skies."† We are willing to believe that our blessed Lord knew better than Dr. Milner what it was proper for HIM to do, when HE told his disciples that "the HOLY GHOST should bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever HE had said unto them." The learned polemic might as well say that if our Lord had meant that all men should enter his Church, he would have remained on earth to found it.—Why did Dr. Milner speak of the New Testament only? Is not the Gospel taught in the Old Testament? And did not Christ constantly appeal to the Scriptures, meaning of course the Scriptures of the Old Testament? Such remarks can operate only upon unreflecting and vulgar minds.

And with regard to the general "obligation of learning to read the Bible," is there no way of learning religion from a book, even by those who cannot read? I could have told him, even at the moment in which his "End of Religious Controversy" was first passing through the press, of a poor woman who had learned her religion by going constantly to Church, and hearing the Ambassadors of Christ read the Bible. "Faith," says the Apostle, "cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."‡ "Moses of old time," said St. James, "hath in every city them that *preach* him, being *read* in the synagogues every Sabbath day."§ The poor aged woman of whom I speak was visited by me in her last illness. She quoted the Scriptures so fluently, and applied them so correctly and understandingly, that the idea of her not knowing how to read never occurred to me. I said, "Give me your Bible, and I will mark some passages for your meditation when I am absent." "Alas, sir!" she replied, "I cannot read!"—"Cannot read!" I exclaimed; "how did you get such a knowledge of the Bible?"—"By attending Church, sir, and hearing the Bible read. My memory, thank God, is good; and I have repeated what I have heard till I had got it by heart."—Such would have been the general result, if the noble design of the English Reformers had been car-

* Letter VIII.
† Rom. x. 17.

‡ Evidences, part ii. ch. vi.
§ Acts xv. 21.

ried out. Their design was, that not priests merely, but the people in general should attend morning and evening prayer in their parish churches every day in the year. Thus they would have repeated the whole book of Psalms every month, and heard the *whole* of the Bible read—the Old Testament once, and the New Testament three times a year. What would have been the result, if every inhabitant in the vast empire of Great Britain, and in the United States of America, had thus heard, in his own tongue, the wonderful works of God? Consider how intimately they would have known the Scriptures, which are able to make us wise unto salvation! Every one knows that good reading is a continual comment. The Christian Priest, whose "lips should keep knowledge,"* would read with such just intonation and emphasis, that the ignorant would understand the Bible better than if they merely read it alone by themselves. Thus the people would have sought the law at the priest's mouth. I speak not to disparage the learning how to read. The more all useful learning is extended, the better. But even supposing any person so ignorant, it does not follow that they could not learn their religion from a book. The greatest scholar may often have thoughts suggested to his soul by hearing the word of God read in public worship. I repeat it therefore, if the noble design of the Church of England had not been thwarted by a perverse opposition proceeding first from English members of the Roman Communion, and afterwards secretly fomented by them among the Puritans, (Dr. Milner well knows how,) not a being speaking the English tongue would have failed to hear, every day of his life, four chapters of the Bible read in the daily ministrations of morning and evening worship. And even in the present imperfect state of our practice, and the limited influence of our worship, I might appeal to the experience of every one who, like the poor woman I have mentioned, diligently and faithfully attends the sanctuary, whether it is possible that such can be ignorant of God's Holy Word.

Again, he speaks in a tone of flippant irreverence of our Saviour's acting without common sense, if He did not appoint a judge of controversies.† Dr. Milner well knew

* Mal. ii. 7.

† Letter VIII. ii.

that our Twentieth Article speaks of the Church as *having* "authority in controversies of faith." What is meant by that expression will be more properly considered hereafter. It is mentioned here only to show his unfairness. Whatever may be thought by those who hold the rule of private interpretation in its most extensive sense, it is a calumny to impute such a rule to the Churches of the English Communion. "The Church hath power," says the Article, "to decree rites or ceremonies, and *authority in controversies of faith*; and yet," it cautiously adds, "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written."* The meaning of this rule is fully shown in the Prayer-book which the Church of England, and the Churches in her Communion, have set forth as containing the Catholic sense of the Scriptures—the Catholic faith as it was held previous to the schisms of the fifth and subsequent centuries. Equally remote from a persecuting or a latitudinarian spirit, the Churches of the English Communion require conformity to the Prayer-book as essential to "unity of spirit and the bond of peace."

When, therefore, Dr. Milner† enters into a long statement of the dangers arising from private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; when he dilates upon the extravagances of Luther, Carlostad, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and Muncer; when he attempts to show that the unbounded license of explaining Scripture, has led to tumults, persecution, bloodshed, anarchy, and even infidelity—all the miseries of the English rebellion, and all the horrors of the French revolution; we do not feel ourselves called upon to enter the lists with him, or to vindicate what we, as well as he, should equally disapprove and condemn. If he could prove all that he asserts, it would not affect us, unless he could show that the English Reformation contained the seeds of all these enormities. Against us, his argument, if argument it may be called, has no more force than the sophistry which would impute to the Christian religion the crimes which have been perpetrated in its name. The very same sort of argument would convict the Roman Communion in general, of all the horrors of the Inquisition, or of the perfidious massacre of

* Art. XX. 1562.

† Letter VIII. iii.

St. Bartholomew. Oh, with what stern recrimination could I unfold, from published documents of unquestioned accuracy, the monstrous wickedness of many dignitaries of the French Church, during the Regency of the Duke of Orleans and the reign of Louis XV! These were among the principal causes which led to infidelity, and the horrors of revolution, and not the writings of English Deists imported into France. But I forbear; for the cause of truth needs no support from such pitiable attempts to create prejudice against a religion from the infirmities, the follies, and the wickedness of any of its professors. To detect every instance of this unfairness in Dr. Milner's writings would extend this reply to an immeasurable length. I shall endeavour, therefore, to select the strong points of controversy, and leave smaller things to fall of course.

If Mr. James Brown and his Protestant friends were not completely puzzled by the *eighth* letter, it was not Dr. Milner's fault if they were not left by the *ninth* in a labyrinth of doubt. His great object was to disparage the Bible as the rule of faith; and this he did by asking a series of questions which he knew would, to uninformed minds, be extremely embarrassing:

First. How do you know, he says, the *Canon* of Scripture?

Secondly. Supposing the divine authority of the Scriptures established, how do you know that the copies of them translated and printed in your Bible are authentic?

Thirdly. Admitting that the original Hebrew and Greek are canonical and authentic, how do you know that yours is a faithful translation?

Fourthly. Admitting, still further, that your Bible is canonical, authentic and faithful, what security have you that you understand it rightly? and

Fifthly. How, among so many doubts and controversies, can you have any certain and full persuasion, unless you come to the *Catholic Church, having the tradition of all ages, and the spirit of all truth?*

The very arrangement of these interrogatories shows the art of the polemic. It is a series of Socratic questions, the last of which contains the *real object* at which the querist is aiming.

Our general answer to all these questions is, We know just as well as you know; and we are a little more honest than you, because we clearly define our terms, and never palter with a double sense. Let us consider these questions as briefly as we can.

§ 1. The Canon.

The decree of the *Fourth* session of the Council of Trent enumerates all the Books of the Old and New Testament as received in the *Roman* Communion. The Sixth Article of the London Synod, of 1562, does the same as to the Books received in the *English* Communion. Both communions agree as to the *Books of the New Testament*; but in the *Old*, the Roman Communion follows the *Greek and Latin Canon*, while the English receive only the *Hebrew Canon*. By the term *Canon* is meant a rule of faith. Consequently *Canonical Scriptures* are those which are to be appealed to as a rule of faith. The Council of Trent names the Books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the first and second books of Maccabees, and includes in the books of Esther and Daniel, those parts which by the Synod of London were called "the rest of the book of Esther, the Song of the Three Children, the Story of Susannah, and that of Bel and the Dragon."—(Art. vi.) The Council of Trent does not name the third and fourth Books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasses, among its *sacred* and *canonical* books; and therefore so far agrees with the Synod of London. But these excepted, the Tridentine Synod pronounces all *accursed* who do not receive with equal reverence and veneration, as *sacred* and *canonical*, the above-mentioned seven books, together with those parts of Esther and Daniel, which the Synod of London, though it does not *curse* those who think otherwise, pronounces *not to be canonical*. The question then as to canonical scriptures, or scriptures to be aduced as a rule of faith, is clearly reduced to this, Whether the seven books named, and the parts of Esther and Daniel,

as contained in the Greek Septuagint, and the old Latin Vulgate, are or are not *canonical*? Now the plain and simple fact that they do not exist in the Hebrew, like the books enumerated equally by the Councils of Trent and London, but only in a *Greek original*, is, to plain and simple men, a sufficient *prima facie* evidence that they are *not canonical*. But how great will be the surprise of such men when they learn that the very writers who are supposed to be among the conveyers of divine and apostolical traditions, do themselves furnish testimony that these books are *not canonical*! Origen, the most learned of the Greek Fathers, as to the text of Scripture, says: "The Hebrews make no use of Tobit or Judith; for they do not hold them even among apocryphal books written in Hebrew, as we have by inquiry learned from themselves."* That the Book of *Baruch* had an oriental origin must be mere conjecture; for St. Jerome, in his preface to Jeremiah, says: "We have omitted the Book of Baruch, his scribe, which among the Hebrews is neither read nor acknowledged."† Of the Book of Wisdom, says St. Jerome, "It is nowhere to be found among the Hebrews, and its very style breathes of Grecian idioms."‡

Of the Book of Daniel, St. Jerome says: "Among the Hebrews, you have neither the History of Susannah, nor the Song of the Three Children, nor the fables of Bel and the Dragon."§ In his preface to the Book of Esther, he says: "Taking the *Hebrew* book of Esther, examine my translation word for word; so as to acknowledge that I have not increased it by any additions, but have simply and with faithful testimony, translated the Hebrew history into the Latin tongue, as it is held in the Hebrew language."|| Ecclesiasticus was written by Jesus, the son of Sirach, of Jerusalem, and translated by his grandson into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II. That reign extended from B. C. 147 to B. C. 118. The date of the Greek Translation

* Ep. ad Africanum, cap. 13, tom. i. p. 26. Ed. Benedict.

† Apud Hebræos, nec legitur, nec habetur. Tom. i. p. 554. Ed. Benedict.

‡ Ipse stylus Græcam eloquentiam redolet. Ib. p. 938.

§ Ib. p. 990.

|| Sicut in Hebræo habetur, historiam Hebraicam Latine linguæ tradidisse. Ib. p. 1138.

by the grandson cannot therefore be placed higher than the *beginning*, and is generally supposed to have been about the *middle* of that reign. The grandson says that his grandfather's work was written in Hebrew. He must mean of course the corrupt Hebrew spoken from 350 to 400 years after the Captivity, or what is commonly called the Syro-Chaldaic, the language which St. Paul spake, as mentioned in Acts xxii. 2.

It is probable that the first book of Maccabees was written in the same language; for it records the events of 38 years, ending 139 years before the Christian era, and St. Jerome says that he had seen the original in Hebrew, that is, in Chaldee.* With regard to the second book of Maccabees, St. Jerome says, "the Second is *Greek*; which can be proved from its very phraseology.†

Let us now trace the origin of the Greek Translation of the Old Testament. It is a fact so well known as to be beyond dispute, that the five books of Moses were translated in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which began B. C. 285 and ended B. C. 248. The Jews, who were very numerous in Alexandria, spoke the Greek language; and thus the version, not only of the Law, but of the Prophets and other books of the Hebrew canon, came by degrees into general use.‡ Learned men have discovered so many differences in the style and quality of the whole, as clearly show that the five books of Moses were first translated, and the rest subsequently, at various times and by different writers. The subscription annexed to the version of Esther states that it was finished in the fourth year of Ptolemy Philometer, B. C. 178. It is evident therefore that the *Greek Canon* was formed in Egypt, not at once, but by degrees; not from a single manuscript copy in the original Hebrew, transmitted by the authority of the High Priest to king Ptolemy Philadelphus, but from various manuscripts of uncertain authority, in the course of at least a century. It is no less evident that the books in controversy between the *Roman* and *English* communions, were added in Egypt. It

* Prolog. galeat. sive præf. in Lib. Regum.

† Quod ex ipsâ quoque phrasi probari potest. Tom. i. p. 322. Marsh; Comp. View, pp. 90-93. Note.

‡ For an account of this the reader can consult Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. c. 2.

was natural that Jews dwelling in a foreign land should preserve with great care any documents relating to the history and theology of their nation; and this without considering or even imagining that they had equal claims to reverence with the inspired writings. From the building of the second temple, to the appearance of John the Baptist there is a great chasm in the contemporary Jewish History and Literature. This the Jews, living in Egypt under the Ptolemies, sensibly felt; but what evidence is there that they acknowledged the inspiration of the books they collected? Is there any thing in Josephus, or in Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, from which such evidence can be drawn? Not a word. We know from Origen, who was himself of Alexandria, and who spent the greater part of his laborious life in correcting the errors and interpolations of the Greek version, that the books of Tobit and Judith were neither used by the Jews, (he must of course mean the Jews of Syria,) nor admitted by them even among their Apocryphal books or books of doubtful origin.* As for Josephus, his testimony is as full as words can be: "We have not myriads of Books discordant and contradicting each other, but ONLY TWENTY-TWO which comprehend the history of all former ages, and are justly regarded as divine. Of them five belong to Moses, containing his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life." He then adds, "It is true our history hath been written since *Artaxerxes*, very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time."†

Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Persian king spoken of by Josephus, reigned from B. C. 465 to B. C. 425; and it was in his reign that Malachi, the last of the prophets wrote, and the transactions took place recorded in the books of Ezra and

* Origen, ut sup. Op., tom. i. p. 26, 2d ed. Bened.

† Joseph. contr. Apion, lib. i. c. 8.

Nehemiah, or Esdras I. and II., and Esther. Now let the reader examine the *Hebrew Canon* in the reception of which the *Roman* and the *English* communions agree, and he will find that they are included in the TWENTY-TWO books mentioned by Josephus.*

It is precisely those written since *Artaxerxes*, which Josephus says *have not been esteemed of like authority with the former*, concerning which the two communions differ.

But, says Dr. Milner, you cannot prove what is Scripture by Scripture, and then he refers to Hooker as showing, and Chillingworth as allowing, that Scripture "cannot bear testimony to itself." I cannot help thinking that Dr. Milner had never read Hooker; for he refers to the wrong place. Chillingworth has quoted two passages and referred to a third from Hooker: Lib. i. Sect. 14, Lib. ii. Sect. 4, and Lib. iii. Sect. 8. Dr. Milner takes the sentiment of the first, does not notice the second, and in his margin refers only to the third. Hooker arguing against the Puritans says (Lib. i. § 14), "It may be—and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chief is to know what books we are to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach." Chillingworth quotes this, and then adds: "And this he (Hooker) proveth by the same argument which we (Chillingworth) lately used, saying thus (Eccles. Pol. Lib. ii. § 4), 'It is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure us that we do well to think it his Word. For if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all; yet still that Scripture which giveth testimony [credit] to the rest would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we [ever] come unto any pause whereon to rest.....unless besides Scripture there were something which might assure us,'" &c. And then Chillingworth adds: "And this he (Hooker) acknowledges to be the Church."† It is for this last sentence only that Chillingworth

* They were probably reduced by him to twenty-two, because such is the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; at least, such is the explanation given by St. Jerome, Prolog. galeatus.

† Chillingworth, Rel. of Protestants, Charity maintained by Catholics, part i. ch. ii. § 7.

refers to Lib. iii. § 8 of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Now why did not Dr. Milner in taking quotations of Hooker from Chillingworth, take that which was under his eye from Lib. ii. § 4, which explains Hooker's meaning? Certainly, most sapient sir, any single book of Scripture cannot bear testimony to itself, except what is usually called *internal* testimony. But may not the later books of the Old Testament give *external* testimony to books which in the order of time preceded them? and may not the New Testament bear witness to the divine origin of the Old? How pitiable are such attempts to impose on the ignorance or credulity of readers who cannot or will not examine his authorities, and detect his misrepresentations!

Our blessed Lord bore witness repeatedly to the divine origin and character of the Hebrew Canon; and that in the way which, to a true believer, is of all others the most satisfactory: that is, never given formally as testimony, and as if the fact were questionable, but in appeals to that which was without controversy. I select only a few instances, and such as at the moment occur to my mind. St. John v. 39: "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me." Ib. v. 46: "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." St. Luke xvi. 31: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Ib. xx. 42: "David himself saith, in the Book of Psalms." St. Matt. xxiv. 15: "When—ye shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet," &c. St. Luke xxiv. 44: "All things must be fulfilled which were written in the *LAW of Moses*, and in the *PROPHETS*, and in the *PSALMS* concerning me." Ib. v. 45: "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the *SCRIPTURES*." In this last passage there is the same threefold division of the Scriptures mentioned by Josephus, and existing even to this day in the manuscripts and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. It is therefore on the authority of our Lord Christ himself that we receive the Hebrew Canon, "handed down" to His time by the Church in every age, to whom, as St. Paul says, were committed the oracles of God; which oracles have to us the additional sanction of the SON OF GOD.

And now let us look at the history of the Latin Transla-

tion which the Council of Trent was pleased to substitute for the Hebrew verity. The Greek Translation of the Old Testament was, from the force of circumstances, the standard of the early Christian Church. Greek was the language most generally understood. With the single exception of the Syriac Bible, all the early translations were made from the Septuagint; and though, as I have before remarked, there is no evidence that the books not of Hebrew origin were ever considered in the early Church as of equal authority with the Hebrew Canon, yet in the several translations the boundary line between the two would easily become obscured. From the Greek, various Latin translations were made, some probably as early as the second century, but differing from each other, and all more or less inaccurate. One of them, called by St. Augustine the *Itala*, was preferred to the rest; but even this, before the end of the fourth century, had been so corrupted that a revision of it became necessary, and Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, confided this important task to St. Jerome, on account of his knowledge of Hebrew. The design was opposed by St. Augustine, who endeavoured in vain to dissuade St. Jerome from undertaking it. The revision was made, but was lost through accident or fraud, and St. Jerome then made a new translation, which ostensibly is that now received by the Roman Communion. I say *ostensibly*, because the opposition of St. Augustine led to results which materially affected it. In the year 397, at the very time when St. Jerome was employed in writing his new version of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew, the third Council of Carthage was held, in which St. Augustine took a prominent part. In the 47th canon of that council it prohibited any books from being read in church under the name of *divine* Scriptures which were not *canonical*. It then gives the following list of *canonical* Scriptures: "Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Nave [Joshua], Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings [1, 2 Samuel, 1, 2 Kings], two books of Paralipomenon [Chronicles], Job, the Psalter of David, *five books of Salomon*, the books of the twelve prophets, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, two books of Esdras, two books of Maccabees. Of the New Testament, the four books of the Gospels, one book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul

the apostle, one of the same to the Hebrews, two of Peter the apostle, three of John the apostle, one of Jude the apostle, and one of James, one book of the Apocalypse of John."* By a strange blunder, the council enumerated *five* books of Solomon; that is, beside Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, which are in the Hebrew Canon, it pronounced to be his, not only what is called in the Septuagint the Wisdom of Solomon, but also the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, which was written 800 years after the death of Solomon! This is the canon which, on the authority of a council influenced by St. Augustine, and in direct opposition to St. Jerome, and a translation executed under the patronage of Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, in the *fourth* century, the Council of Trent, in the *sixteenth* century, adopted, and bound to be received under the penalty of a curse! "If any one does not receive, as sacred and canonical, those entire books, with all their parts, as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Vulgate Latin edition—let him be accursed!"† Observe well the expression *Old Vulgate Latin*. The term *Vetus Editio Vulgata Latina*, the *Old Latin Vulgate*, was used after the publication of St. Jerome's version, which was called *Editio Nova Vulgata*, the *New Latin Vulgate*, to denote that which was made from the Greek Canon. So that, while St. Jerome's translation, established by the authority of Damasus, is *ostensibly* retained in the Roman Communion, all those parts which St. Jerome rejected as Apocryphal, are brought in again on the authority of the *Old Latin Vulgate*! Here we may well leave the subject; since in this controversy the churches of the English Communion have on their side Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, and the learned St. Jerome, of the fourth century; while the churches of the Roman Communion are influenced by the prejudices of St. Augustine, who knew nothing of Hebrew, and, according to Dr. Milner, by a decretal of Pope Innocent I. in the fifth century!

I do not think it necessary to enter into all the little arts of controversy which Dr. Milner employed to perplex unlearned readers. He asks, Why do you receive the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, who *were not apostles*, and yet

* Labbei et Cossarti Concilia, tom. ii. p. 1177.

† P. 33, *ante*.

"reject an authentic work of great excellence written by St. Barnabas, who *was an apostle*?" And we in our turn ask, If it be so authentic and excellent, why did the Council of Trent reject it? When an answer is returned to this inquiry, we shall be ready with ours. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, observes—"Moreover let that Epistle which is reported to belong to Barnabas be ranked among the *spurious* books of the New Testament."* Let all who uphold Dr. Milner settle his question by appeal to the fathers, whom as *human* testimony we are willing to receive. Nay more, we say with Hooker, "When we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind without cause."†

§ 2. The accuracy of the text.

How do you know that your copies of the Bible are authentic? By authentic Dr. Milner evidently meant genuine; and the question in general has been sufficiently answered already. We prove the Bible to be authentic, or genuine, just as we prove that any other ancient book is so.‡ We are greatly indebted to the labours of Kennicott and De Rossi, Holmes and Parsons, Sabatier, Bianchini and Fleck, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholtz, for our knowledge of the integrity of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts. Various readings, instead of injuring have increased to a moral demonstration the evidence as to the purity of the original Bible, and the general fidelity of the Greek and Latin translations. The infidel Collins raised a great hue and cry about biblical criticism and various readings, with precisely the same object as that of Dr. Milner, to unsettle men's faith in the Bible; and if I had space, I could copy whole pages of Dr. Bentley's Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, that admirable answer to Collins, as equally applicable in the present case. But I forbear, and content myself with con-

* Grier's Reply to Milner, p. 14. He enters into a laboured reply, which I do not think necessary.

† Eccl. Pol., book iii. § 8.

‡ See before, p. 37.

sidering the passage in Psalm xiv., and the disputed text, 1 John, v. 7, which our author adduces to prove two opposite charges against the authorized text in the English translation.

"Look," says he, "at Psalm xiv., as it occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, to which your clergy swear their 'consent and assent'; then look at the same Psalm in your Bible: you will find *four whole verses* in the former, which are left out of the latter! What will you here say, dear sir? You must say that your Church has added to, or else that she has *taken away from the words of this prophecy!*"* The words he italicised are from Rev. xxii. 19, "If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, *God shall take away his part out of the book of life,*" &c. Imagine the delight with which the cunning polemic thought he had tossed the Church of England on the horns of this dilemma! But if I had been at his elbow, as he read it aloud and chuckled, I should have said, fair and softly, good sir! Do not magnify the evil, nor shift the responsibility. The interpolated verses are *three* not *four*; and we are indebted for them to *your own INFALLIBLE Church!*

Dr. Grier answered Dr. Milner gravely and elaborately, and much at length, as if he was ignorant of the truth, and only needed to be set right. But the answer should be directed, not to Dr. Milner and his learned brethren, but to the purpose at which Dr. Milner aimed, the unsettling Mr. James Brown's confidence in the honesty and consistency of the Church of England. Let me therefore endeavour to give a plain statement of facts, and then condense the argument.

The Psalm which in the Hebrew canon is numbered 14, but in the Septuagint and Latin Vulgate 13, has only *seven* verses. The three interpolated verses occur between the third and fourth; but as in the Prayer-book the first Hebrew verse is divided and numbered one and two, the third is numbered four, and the fourth eight, and the three interpolated verses five, six, and seven. This interpolation seems to have been originally a marginal note, occasioned by the belief that St. Paul quoted this Psalm in Romans iii. 10-18. For in the celebrated Vatican Manuscript, one of the oldest

* Letter IX. sect. 2.

extant, these verses are written in the margin with this note: "These are placed nowhere in the Psalms; whence, therefore, the Apostle took them, must be a subject of inquiry."* The annotator was in part mistaken. St. Paul's quotation, Rom. iii. 10-12, is an abridgment of the Hebrew Psalm xiv. 1-3; Rom. iii. 13 is from Psalm v. 9, and Psalm cxl. 3;† Rom. iii. 14 is from Psalm x. 7; Rom. iii. 15-17 is from Isaiah lix. 7, 8; Rom. iii. 18 is from Psalm xxxvi. 1, or, Gr. and Lat., xxxv. 1.‡ These three verses, Psalm xiv. 5, 6, 7, of the version in the Prayer-book, are therefore words of Holy Scripture, and consequently the use of them is not adding to the Bible, nor does the taking them away, in translating according to the Hebrew canon, subject the Church of England, and the Churches of her communion, to the awful malediction in the Apocalypse.

Having stated the real fact with regard to the interpolation, let us proceed now to inquire by *whom* it was occasioned.

In the year 1586 appeared at Rome the printed edition of the Greek Septuagint, professing to be an *exact* copy of the celebrated Vatican Manuscript of which we have spoken. But instead of placing the three interpolated verses in the margin, together with the note of the annotator, which clearly showed that they did not belong even to the Greek text, the Roman editors *suppressed the note entirely*, and *inserted the three verses in the text!* Unsuspicious of this *fraud*, the learned world received the *Vatican text* as the true text of the Septuagint.

By the providence of God, the injured Cyril Lucar, the Greek Patriarch, first of Alexandria and afterwards of Constantinople, whose life was a sacrifice to Jesuitical intrigues, sent, in 1628, to King Charles I. of England, that famous Alexandrian manuscript which is now in the British Museum, and a fac-simile of which has been so munificently published by the British government. The text of the Old Testament in that manuscript, is nearer to the Hebrew than that of the Vatican edition printed at Rome; and in particu-

* Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexapla*, tom. i. p. 492.

† Gr. and Lat. Ps. cxxxix. 3.

‡ See this admirably well proved by Dr. Th. Hartwell Horne in his *Introduction*. Tables of quotations from the Old Testament in the New.

lar, *it does not contain* in Psalm xiv. [xiii.] *the three interpolated verses*. But this was not generally known until the learned Dr. Grabe first published it in 1707. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that these verses did not belong to the ancient Greek version, but were at an early period written by some one in the margin, from the third chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, under the mistaken impression that he had quoted them from the fourteenth [13th] Psalm.

It has been already remarked that interpolations are more easily made in Versions than in Originals. The Old Latin Vulgate was made from the Greek; and *there* the three verses were inserted as a part of the text. The Council of Trent having decreed that "the Old Vulgate edition was *authentic*," and that "no one should dare or presume, on any pretext whatever, to reject it," the editors of the Vatican Greek text were bound under the curse of the Council to commit the fraud of which they were guilty, by making the Greek text conform to that *old Latin translation* which was now elevated to the rank of the *original* Scriptures.

Contrast with such conduct the *honesty* of the English Translators. In the first English Bible authorized to be read in Churches, published by Archbishop Cranmer in 1539-40, the three verses interpolated in the fourteenth Psalm, are printed in smaller letters than the rest, to denote that they were not in the Hebrew. From this Bible the Psalter was inserted in 1549 in the first Prayer-book of King Edward VI., and has ever since been continued. The publication of the Vatican Septuagint in 1586 *seemed* to prove that they were in the Greek as well as in the Latin, and *added force* to the existing reasons for retaining the old version. When St. Jerome wrote his *new* version, it was thought best to retain the *old* in the services of the Church, because it was familiar to the people, and they were attached to it. The same reason applied with tenfold more force to the old English version; for learned critics, even at this day, consider it on the whole as preferable to the new. Its Anglo-Saxon purity, the simplicity of its diction, and the mellifluous beauty of its style, are very captivating. And even when it was found that the three verses in question were supported

only by the Old Latin Vulgate, still as they were genuine expressions of Holy Writ, they did not seem inappropriate as forming a part of divine worship. We cannot but be indignant at the matchless effrontery which would exalt this matter into a charge of guilt upon the English Church, of adding to, or taking from the word of God, when the writer, if he knew the facts of the case, ought rather to have blushed for the *Roman dishonesty* which occasioned it.

Dr. Milner is still more unfortunate when he says in his note to this part of Letter IX., "The Bishop of Lincoln has published his conviction that *the most important passage* in the New Testament, 1 John v. 7, *for establishing the divinity of Jesus Christ*, 'is spurious.'" "There is no doubt," he says, "as the verses in Psalm xiv. are quoted by St. Paul, Rom. iii. 13, &c., but the common Bible is *defective* in this passage;" and then, that he may cut with a two-edged sword, he brings forward Bishop Tomline as saying that it contains a *spurious* verse, and that verse *the most important in the New Testament to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ!* In talking about biblical criticism and various readings as rendering the text of the Bible uncertain, he has played into the hands of the Infidel; and now, by calling 1 John v. 7 *the most important of all texts* to prove the divinity of our blessed Lord, he plays into the hands of the Socinian!

Dr. Grier was embarrassed in his reply by personal considerations which cannot influence the present writer. The Bishop of St. David's, against whom Dr. Milner had poured out his invectives, was, at the time Dr. Grier wrote, distinguished as the zealous champion for the disputed text. Mr. Nolan's book in its favour had lately appeared; and so eminent a critic and so profound a reasoner as Bishop Horsley, had admitted the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, not from *external*, but from the force of *internal* testimony. The tide was therefore turning at that time in England in favour of the text; and all this had such an effect upon Dr. Grier's mind that he felt "compelled to abandon his former prejudices against it, and to think that a person should almost as soon doubt the genuineness of the rest of St. John's Epistle as that of the disputed passage."*

* Grier's Reply, p. 46.

The present writer has no prejudices against the text; for he fully believes in its doctrinal truth, and can therefore read it with a safe conscience, as he could any other *apocryphal* passage; but he cannot quote it as part of the *canon* or *rule of faith*. An interpolation may be so consistent with the rule of faith, as to seem, from *internal* evidence alone, to be a genuine part of it; but if it wants *external* testimony it must be rejected. In other words, *internal* may be a very powerful *auxiliary*, but can never be a *substitute*, for *external* evidence. And this is what Hooker meant in saying, that "it is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure us that we do well to think it his Word."* To every passage of the Bible whatsoever, the *external* testimony is of three kinds: first, the existing manuscripts of the original text, copied in various countries, and from age to age; secondly, the translations into various languages, made in the early ages of the Church from the original text, and therefore representing the original manuscripts from which they were taken; thirdly, the quotations made by Christian writers of various ages and countries, more especially in works of controversy, where much depends on the precision with which authorities are cited. Where all these agree, the external testimony is as strong as evidence well can be. It amounts, in fact, to a moral demonstration. That which all admit must be true; that which all reject must be false. By this threefold rule, let us examine the passage, 1 John v. 7.

1. The greatest number now known of the manuscripts of this epistle, in the original Greek, is 149. Of this number 145 *do not* contain the clause from "in heaven," to "in earth;" and the remaining four are of little or no critical value. These are known to critics under the names of the Codices Guelpherbitanus, Ravianus, Montfortianus and Ottonianus, 298. The Codex Guelpherbitanus is evidently a manuscript of the *seventeenth* century; for it contains the *Latin translation* of Beza written by the *same hand*. The Codex Ravianus, now at Berlin, is a forgery; a transcript of the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglott, with various readings from Stephens's third edition of 1550.

The remaining *two* are the *Codex Montfortianus*, in Trini-

* Ecc. Pol., b. ii. § 4.

ty College, Dublin, called by Erasmus *Codex Britannicus*, and the *Codex Ottobonianus*, in the Vatican Library, No. 298.*

The *Codex Montfortianus* is written in *small characters*, on thick glazed paper.† These are signs by which critics can discern the limits of its *possible* antiquity. There are other signs which show that it was written in the *west* of Europe; for it is divided according to the *Latin* chapters, which were introduced by Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro, who died in 1262, and are altogether foreign to the usage of the Greek Church before the introduction of printed editions. No Greek manuscripts are known to be extant in which these chapters are found, prior to the taking of Constantinople, (A. D. 1453,) when the Greek fugitives became transcribers for the *Latin* Church, and of course adopted the *Latin* chapters. Bishop Marsh therefore agrees with Griesbach in assigning the *Codex Montfortianus* to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. "It made its first appearance," he observes, "about the year 1520; and that the manuscript had just been written when it first appeared, is highly probable, because it appeared at a critical juncture, and its appearance answered a particular purpose. Erasmus had published two editions of the Greek Testament, one in 1516, the other in 1519, both of which were without the words that begin with ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, [in heaven,] and end with ἐν τῇ γῇ, [in earth,] in the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. This omission, as it was called by those who paid more deference to the Latin translation than to the Greek original, exposed Erasmus to much censure, though, in fact, the complaint was for *non-addition*. Erasmus therefore very properly answered, that it was not his province to add what was wanting in the original manuscript. "Addendi de meo, quod Græcis deest, provinciam non susceperam." He promised, however, that, though he could not insert in a Greek edition what he had never found in a Greek manuscript, he would insert the passage in his next edition, if, in the mean time, a Greek manuscript could be discovered which had the passage. In less than a year after that declaration, Erasmus

* Horne's *Introd.* Analysis of the N. T. p. vi. c. iv. sec. v.

† Marsh's *Michælis*, vol. ii. p. 284.

was informed that there was a Greek manuscript in England which contained the passage. At the same time a copy of the passage, as contained in that MS. was communicated to Erasmus; and Erasmus, as he had promised, inserted that copy in his next edition, which was published in 1522."*

The *Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus*, 298, was first collated by Dr. Scholtz, for his edition of the New Testament, the second volume of which, containing the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, was published after his death, in 1836. Previously, however, in the year 1829, a fac-simile of the disputed passage was sent by Dr. Wiseman to the Bishop of Salisbury, (Dr. Burgess, who was Dr. Milner's Bishop of St. David's,) and was by him obligingly communicated to the Rev. T. H. Horne, who has inserted it in his valuable Introduction, and thus made it accessible to my readers. From Dr. Scholtz and Dr. Wiseman, the abridged account of this manuscript is given in Horne's Introduction. It was written in the fifteenth century, and contains the Latin and Greek in collateral columns. It "*has been altered in many places in order to make it harmonize with the Latin Vulgate.*"† It cannot therefore be of any critical value. These two being the only Greek manuscripts which can possibly be adduced as authorities, the evidence in favour of the disputed passage would be exceedingly slender, *even if the witnesses agreed*. But they do not agree; and of this the reader may easily convince himself by comparing the fac-similes of both, in the work to which I have referred.‡ It will be seen that in both, *the Greek is a translation from the Latin* by persons ignorant of the distinctive idioms of the two languages. The *Codex Montfortianus*, which has been traced up to a Franciscan monk named Froy, about or before the middle of the sixteenth century,§ was interpolated by some Latin who was unskillful in Greek. The *Codex Ottobonianus*, on the other hand, seems to have been written by some one who

* Bp. Marsh's *Lectures*, part vi. lect. xxvii. pp. 23, 24, and note 12. See also Horne's *Introd.* vol. ii. pp. 141-143.

† Scholtz, *Bib. Krit. Reise*, p. 105, apud Horne, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.

‡ Horne's *Introd.*, vol. ii. p. 141 and 193; vol. iv. pp. 449, 450.

§ Marsh's *Michælis*, vol. iii. p. 757. Translator's note to vol. ii. p. 285; and Mill, *Proleg.* 1379.

did not well understand Latin. In this way, at least, we may possibly account for the extraordinary readings FROM *heaven* instead of IN *heaven*, and FROM *earth* instead of IN or ON *earth*, translated from the Latin *in cælo* and *in terra*. Whether this conjecture be or be not correct, the bad Greek of the Codex Montfortianus, and the blundering translation of the Codex Ottobonianus, added to their recent date, deprive both of all credibility as Greek manuscripts.

2. We come now to the versions. The clause in question "is totally unknown to the manuscripts of the old Syriac version. It is wanting in the new Syriac or Philoxenian version, which was made in the beginning of the sixth century, and collated with Greek MSS. at Alexandria in the beginning of the seventh; it is wanting also in the Arabic MSS. as well of the version printed in the Polyglotts, as of that which was published by Erpenius; it is wanting in the Ethiopic, the Coptic and the Sahidic; it is wanting in the MSS. of the Armenian version, and in those of the Slavonian of Russian version; and lastly, *it is wanting in the most ancient MSS. even of the LATIN version.*"*

It was my good fortune to become acquainted with the learned Professor Fleck, of Leipsic, when he was employed in collating MSS. for his edition of the Vulgate New Testament, which he has since published. At his request I collated the Apocalypse, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles, in a very ancient Latin MS., supposed to have been written for St. Gregory I., Bishop of Rome, and certainly as old as the sixth century. I have now a fac-simile, which I carefully traced at the time, and which, without the contractions, reads as follows:

Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant Spiritus et Aqua et Sanguis, et tres unum sunt.

In English thus:

For there are three which bear record, the Spirit, and the water and the blood, and these three are one.

In the time, therefore, of Gregory the Great, the Latin version of this passage agreed with the Greek.

But in the year 1832, being at Venice, I took a fac-simile of the passage in a manuscript of St. Mark's Library, de-

* Marsh's Letters to Travis, preface, vii.-x.

signed as Codex XI., written in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, in three collateral columns, and described in the catalogues of Zanetti and Morelli, as written about the *thirteenth* century. The Greek and the Arabic have not the disputed passage: but the Latin, written between them, the contractions being filled up, is as follows:

"Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra spiritus, aqua et sanguis et hii (*sic*) tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo (*sic*) pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus et tres unum sunt. xviii."

In English thus:

"For there are three that bear record *in earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are one. And there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.*"

Of this passage, in a letter written May 12, 1832, to Dr. Burgess, the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, I gave the following description: "The words 'in celo (*sic*) pater, verbum et sps ses et tres unum sunt, xviii,' are not only in smaller characters, but are written with ink of a much paler and yellower colour than the rest. I should think, from the appearance of the manuscript, that the scribe, having perceived the discrepancy of the text and the version, had left a blank, which he afterwards filled up with smaller characters, such as one writes who is pressed for room, and with ink of a different colour. It does not seem to me to be a *secunda manu*, because the letters, though smaller, are written very much in the same style."

It is clear then, I think, that sometime after the sixth century the Latin version had been interpolated, and that even in the thirteenth century it was in an uncertain and fluctuating state. This the extract from the manuscript just quoted abundantly shows; for the earthly witnesses are placed before the heavenly. Griesbach affirms, as the consentient observations of the learned, that the more ancient of those manuscripts which contain the passage, have this order, and that it is omitted by all which are older than the ninth century.*

3. That it was never quoted by the Greek fathers in the

* N. T. tom. ii. Appendix, pp. 12, 13.

Arian controversy, would be utterly inexplicable, if it had been in their copies. The *first instance of such quotation* occurs in the *Greek* translation of the Acts of the fourth Lateran Council, held at Rome in 1215. The translation, of course, was later, made for the purpose of uniting the Greek to the Latin Church; and even that speaks of the passage as found *only in some manuscripts*.^{*} The first Greek writer who quoted it was Emanuel Calecas, about one hundred years after the Lateran Council, or the middle of the fourteenth century. He became a monk of the order of St. Dominic, and adopted the tenets of the Latin, in opposition to those maintained by the Greek church. It is certain therefore that there are no Greek authorities in favour of the passage, till we come nearly to the age of the Codices Montfortianus and Ottobonianus.

If there be then so little authority for the disputed passage, how, it may be asked, did it creep into the Latin version? We answer, by means of marginal annotations, derived from a *gloss* upon the *eighth* verse. As Bishop Marsh has clearly stated the facts of the case, they shall be given in his own words.

"At the *end* of the fourth century, the celebrated Latin Father Augustin, who wrote ten Treatises on the first Epistle of St. John, in all of which we seek in vain for the *seventh* verse of the fifth Chapter, was induced in his controversy with Maximin to compose a gloss upon the eighth verse. Augustin gives it professedly as a gloss upon the words of the eighth verse, and shows, by his own reasoning, that the seventh verse did not then exist. The high character of Augustin in the Latin Church soon gave celebrity to his gloss; and in a short time it was generally adopted. It appeared, indeed, under different forms; but it was still the gloss of Augustin, though variously modified. The gloss having once obtained credit in the Latin Church, the possessors of Latin manuscripts began to note it in the margin, by the side of the eighth verse. Hence the oldest of those Latin manuscripts, which have the passage in the margin, have it in a different hand from that of the text. In later manuscripts we find margin and text in the same

^{*} Acta Concil. Hardouin, tom. viii. 17.

hand; for transcribers did not venture immediately to move it into the *body* of the text, though in some manuscripts it is *interlined*, but interlined by a later hand. After the eighth century the insertion became general. For Latin manuscripts written *after* that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text. Further, when the seventh verse made its first appearance in the Latin manuscripts, it appeared in as many different forms as there were forms to the gloss upon the eighth verse. And though it now *precedes* the eighth verse, it *followed* the eighth verse at its first insertion, as a gloss would naturally follow the text upon which it was made. It is not therefore matter of mere conjecture, that the seventh verse originated in a Latin gloss upon the eighth verse, it is an historical fact, supported by evidence which cannot be resisted.^{*}

Let us now consider the question as relates to the *honesty* of the English Translators. The knowledge of Greek, which had been nearly lost in the west of Europe, sprung up after the capture of Constantinople, and soon made its way into England. Erasmus went thither in 1497, at the age of thirty, and remained at Oxford more than two years, pursuing his Greek studies, by the assistance of Grocyn, Linacer, and William Latimer. The latter afterwards assisted him in the preparation of his second edition of the New Testament; for he was invited to England in 1509 by Henry VIII., and was there from 1510 to 1513, and again from 1517 to 1518. His two editions of the New Testament of 1516 and 1519 were without the Latin interpolation in 1 John v. 7-8. His influence in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. is too well known to need any further remark; and although in his third edition of 1522, he admitted this passage in Greek, on the authority of Froy's manuscript, which he called the Codex Britannicus, yet it was well understood that he did so more to escape persecution, than from any real conviction that it was genuine. In 1539 appeared Abp. Cranmer's Bible, the first which was allowed to be read in Churches. In that translation the *suspected* passage was printed in parenthesis, and in smaller type, the whole being in the old English character:

^{*} Bp. Marsh's Lectures, pt. vi. pp. 19-23.

(For there are three whiche beare recorde in heauen, the father, the word, and the holy gost. And these three are one.

For there are three whiche beare recorde (in earth) the spirit, and water, and bloude; and these three are one.

Even so late as the year 1566 an edition of this Bible, which I have before me, retains the same distinction. But Abp. Parker's, or what is called the Bishop's Bible, first set forth in 1568, made no such distinction. I have before me Christopher Barker's splendid edition of 1583 in which the two verses are printed nearly as they exist in the present authorized version, or that of King James, 1611: viz. "7. For there are three, which beare record in heaven, the Father, the Worde and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. 8. And there are three which beare recorde in the earth, the spirite, and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one."

To account for this change, let it be observed, that in 1550 appeared the famous third edition of Robert Stephens which was supposed to settle the question *in favour* of the disputed text. The celebrity of the printer, and a mistaken reliance upon his accuracy, induced the belief that it was contained in the manuscripts collated for his edition. All controversy on the subject died away; nor was it revived until the manhood of criticism began by the noble edition of Mill in 1707.

This is the only apology which I can render for the conduct of the editors employed at Rome under the Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. in setting forth the standard edition of the Latin Vulgate. It is certain that they had before them the ancient manuscript of the sixth century, which I have mentioned as partially collated by me; for there is an acknowledgment on one of the blank leaves, that on the 12th of July, 1581, it was, by order of Sixtus V., carried to Rome by the Cardinal Antonio Carafa for the emendation of the Latin Vulgate Bible, and was returned on the 19th of January, 1591. Having thus been kept there nearly ten years, it must have been carefully collated. There is no excuse for them if they did not collate it; and yet in the face of such testimony, they chose to follow the corrupted text of

the mediæval ages, and said not one word to their readers concerning that purer reading which accorded exactly with the received text of the Greek Church, and was very probably written for the use of the great St. Gregory himself! I ask how Dr. Milner could have attempted to brand the Church of England with the stigma of corrupting the Holy Bible? He could not have known the facts of the case; or he must have sought, meanly and unblushingly, to impose upon his readers. It is his own INFALLIBLE Church which has ADDED to the Word of God.

§ 3. *The Fidelity of the English Translation.*

Admitting "that the several books in your Bible are canonical and authentic in the originals," how do you know that "they are *faithfully translated in your English copy*?" I shall not waste many words in reply. Dr. Milner talks of the English Translators, as "fifty different men, of various capacities, learning, judgment, opinions, and prejudices." Well! Fifty are better than one; and certainly fifty must be *different*! Pray had St. Jerome, who translated the Latin Bible, no peculiar opinions or prejudices? The "fifty" had the benefit of St. Jerome's capacity, learning, and judgment, and they probably knew quite as much Hebrew, if not Greek, as he. But "Episcopus" he says, "was so convinced of the fallibility of modern translations, that he wanted all sorts of persons, labourers, sailors, women, &c., to learn Hebrew and Greek." Why *modern* good sir? were not *ancient* translations fallible? And as to Hebrew and Greek, if labourers, sailors, and women (!) had the time to learn them, where would be the harm? But a truce to such egregious trifling, and let us come to facts.

The Council of Trent, in the decree already cited, pronounced the Old Vulgate edition to be *authentic*, and forbade any one to reject it, under any pretext whatsoever.* In other words, it elevated a *mere translation*, and that, as we have seen, with a faulty and corrupted text, to the rank of *the original Scriptures*. The consequence is, that in the Roman Communion no one dares to depart from the standard

* Con. Trid. Sessio quarta. Ed. 1564, p. 21.

edition of the Latin Bible set forth by Sixtus V. and his successor Clement VIII. I shall not here dwell upon the derision of the learned, in pointing out the blunders and corrections of the two *infallible* editions of 1590 and 1592. They were well exposed by *James* in his *Bellum Papale*; and specimens of them may be seen in *Horne's Introduction*, Vol. ii. p. 237-8. I mention the fact merely to show the hollow pretensions of this boasted infallibility, and the arrogant impiety of claiming for an uninspired composition that veneration which is due only to the sacred originals.

The English Communion have never pretended to such infallibility, nor been guilty of such proud profanity. All translations are human, and must be more or less defective. But of all uninspired compositions, the English Bible, in the sober and impartial judgment of the wise and learned, ranks among the highest. There may be differences of opinion as to "the choice of a single word;" and in some cases the translation of 1611 may be thought to have expressed the sense of the original not so clearly as Abp. Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible. But taking it all in all, there is no translation superior to it. Yet of what avail would it be to offer proof to those who are determined to reject it? To men who shut their eyes, the sun shines in vain. Let any plain man compare what is called the Douay Bible with the authorized English Translation, and then let him judge which has the clearest marks of fidelity and truth. I select a part of the Epistle to the Galatians, to present to the reader in parallel columns. I copy from the original edition of the Jesuit Translation printed at Rhemes (Rheims) in 1582; and to avoid misapprehension I add that the Old Testament is properly the *Douay*, and the New Testament the *Rheims* version.

GAL. ii. 6-14.

Rheims Version, 1582.

"But of them that seemed to be something, (what they were sometime, it is nothing to me. God accepteth not the person of man), for to me, they that seemed to be something, added nothing. But contrariwise, when they had seen, that to me was committed the Gos-

English Translation, of 1611.

"But of those who seemed to be somewhat, whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person: for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me. But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcised-

pel of the prepuce, as to Peter of the circumcision (for he that wrought in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles) and when they had known the grace that was given me, James and Cephas and John, which seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of societie: that we unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision, only that we should be mindful of the poore; the which same thing also I was careful to doe.

"And when Cephas was come to Antioche, I resisted him in face, because he was reprehensible. For before that certain came from James, he did eate with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And to his simulation consented the rest of the Jewes, so that Barnabas also was ledde of them into that simulation. But when I saw that they walked not rightly to the veritie of the Gospel, I said to Cephas before them al: If thou being a Jewe, livest Gentile-like and not Judaically: how dost thou compel the Gentiles to Judaize."

ion was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles;) and when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only *they would* that we should remember the poore; the same which I also was forward to do.

"But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter, before *them* all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

Now I ask, not the scholar who can go to the Greek, and see and judge for himself, but I ask the plain, unlettered man, which of these translations conveys to him the clearest sense? He must at once see that, in general, both convey the sense of the original; but in the Rheims version it is through a *latinized* medium. The "labourers, and sailors, and women (!)" must learn Latin, if not Greek and Hebrew, so that their condition is not much bettered by the exchange. And here let me ask, how the "labourers, and sailors, and women," who read the Rhemish version, and no other, can possibly find out that it was St. PETER whom St.

Paul resisted? The English translators have honestly rendered the Greek original *Peter*; but the Jesuits, following the Vulgate, have put in *Cephas*, which was the *Syro-Chaldaic* name of Peter. This must greatly help "all sorts of persons," as Dr. Milner calls the "labourers, sailors, women, &c.," and effectually guard them from the danger of doubting St. Peter's supremacy.

But Dr. Milner did not always deal in vague and general accusations against our honest translators. He has condescended to name *two* passages which, he says, they have erroneously translated, and which, therefore, I lay in like manner before the reader.

Rheims Version, 1582.

1 Cor. xi. 27. Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread or drinke the chalice of our Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of our Lord.

Matt. xix. 11. Not all take this word, but they to whom it is given.

English Translation.

Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread AND drink *this* cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.

All *men* cannot receive this saying, save *they* to whom it is given.

In the first of these passages the Greek particle η is rendered in the Vulgate *VEL*, and consequently by the Rhemish translators, *OR*; but in the Bishop's Bible and the present authorized version it is rendered *AND*, though in Archbishop Cranmer's Bible it is translated *OR*. Dr. Milner calls this a corruption. If it be so, our translators are in good company, for they have with them the Syriac, all the Arabic, the Coptic, the Æthiopic, St. Jerome,* Chromatius of Aquileia, Cassiodorus, and Bede.† The Codices Alexandrinus and Claromontanus, and two other in small characters read *et*. I might quote Schleusner and Rosenmüller, who fully support our translators; but as I consider the question at issue as very little, and as it is insisted upon by Dr. Milner merely to shore up a very rotten part of his system, the denial of the cup to the laity, I shall pass on to the consideration of the next passage.

* Op. tom. iv. adv. Jovin. c. 218. Qui enim indignè manducaverit et biberit, reus erit violati corporis et sanguinis Christi.

† See Sabatier and Griesbach *in loc.*

The original in Matt. xix. 11, on which Dr. Milner's criticism turns, are the words $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, which the Vulgate render, *non omnes capiunt*; Abp. Cranmer, *all menne cannot comprehend*; the Bishops' Bible and the Authorized Version, *all men cannot receive*. Our scrupulous translators have printed in italics the word *men*, to show that it is not expressed, though it is implied in the original Greek. Where is the difference then between the Vulgate and the English? Does not the word *cipio* signify to *comprehend*, *receive*, or *take intellectually*? Ah, says Dr. Milner, but I object to that word *cannot* because the Rev. Mr. Grier and Dr. Ryan pretend to prove from other texts that *continency is not necessary*!! Was there ever such a non-sequitur? When will such men as Dr. Milner learn to separate their theological opinions from their criticism? Continency not necessary! Poor Dr. Grier, what an imputation on your character! But the Dr. is at hand to return answer for himself: "In my ANSWER" (i. e. his answer to Ward's miserable book called the Errata of the Protestant Bible,) "I have, as I conceive, satisfactorily proved that the rendering of $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, Matt. xix. 11, is perfectly correct in our Authorized Version of the Bible; as being most agreeable to the original, as well as to the sense in which SS. Augustine and Jerome understand it. I have there been obliged to convict Dr. Milner of gross ignorance of the Greek, no less than of a fraudulent application of the Latin language, in which he is so deeply versed; and have proved to demonstration, that the Rhemish version of this very text as well as of $\text{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\ \text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, 1 Cor. vii. 9, which he considers of 'such importance towards settling the disputes concerning the *possibility* of leading a continent life,' is erroneous. Should the reader refer to pages 33, 55, and 92 of my Answer, I *entreat* him to notice, whether I have expressly or by implication, said or pretended to prove that *continency is not necessary*. In truth, the abstract question, whether the continency of the clergy was or was not necessary, was but a secondary object with me; my chief design being to show, that an ordinance respecting their celibacy, was rather of human, than of divine institution."* Dr. Grier answered

* Grier's Reply to Milner's End of Controversy, pp. 95, 96.

the insinuation gravely. I should have treated it with sorrow for Dr. Milner, but with silent contempt for so mean an artifice.

With the same disingenuous spirit Dr. Milner asks his supposed correspondent, Mr. James Brown, "Can you consistently reject the authority of the great Universal Church, and yet build upon that of some *obscure translator* in the reign of James I.?" *Obscure translator!* Let me tell Mr. Brown, or any other plain man of common sense who may read the boasted "End of Religious Controversy," that our translators did *not reject* the authority of the great Universal Church, and that they weighed with the most scrupulous accuracy the words they used to convey to the unlearned reader the true sense of the Bible. The following is Dr. Grier's comprehensive summary of facts as to the real value of our English Bible:

"If we now direct our attention from the consideration of those few words to which our adversaries object, as being erroneously translated, to the merit of our translation itself; we shall find, that for the three critics, viz., Gregory Martin, Thomas Ward, and Doctor Milner, who have heaped on it every species of vituperation and abuse; not merely *three*, but I might almost say, *three hundred*, of the soundest divines and most profoundly learned biblical scholars, might be enumerated, who have admired it for its general faithfulness, the severe beauty of its language, and the simplicity of its style; and have pronounced it one of the grandest efforts of human skill and industry. That they are borne out in the high encomiums they have passed on it, will appear, if we but advert to the peculiarly happy circumstances under which it was executed;—the flourishing state of the Hebrew, and the wholesome vigour at which the English language had at the time arrived. Every prudent and wise precaution was taken, in employing the most learned men of the day, and in laying down strict rules for their observance; and, as the same may be said with respect to those who prepared the version which immediately preceded it, the circumstance of our last English Bible being a revision thus derived, is an advantage in itself of the greatest value. In short, executed as it was, when the English language was, as I have already observed, fresh in its native simplicity and

vigour, it will ever be esteemed as classical, and regarded with awful respect."*

§ 4. *The true sense of Scripture.*

For a wonder Dr. Milner allows that a "learned Protestant Bishop" could speak the language of St. Jerome and St. Augustine; and he translates, accurately, as far as he goes, the words of Bishop Walton, in the fifth chapter of his *Prolegomena*. I shall take the liberty of connecting the quotation with its context. The Bishop is showing the great advantage to be derived from the collection and collation of the several ancient versions of the Bible. He observes that the languages which we now call learned, were formerly vernacular, and therefore commonly understood. There is a wonderful agreement of all these versions as to all things necessary to faith and salvation: for almost every variety consists in smaller matters which are not necessary. This agreement among all nations, divided by so great distances of sea and land, and connected only by the bond of one faith, clearly shows that the doctrine of these manuscripts is not founded on human wisdom, but established by Divine authority. All the devices of Satan and his followers, all the ignorance, carelessness, and audacity of transcribers, and all the frauds of heretics, could not possibly destroy or corrupt them. For what might possibly happen in one language, could not possibly happen in so many versions through the whole world. Moreover the collation of the ancient versions, and the liturgies and divine offices which obtained authority in the pure and primitive church, threw much light for eliciting the true sense of Scripture in places doubtful and obscure. And then follows the sentence quoted by Dr. Milner, "No one," says Walton, "will deny this who bears in mind that the Word of God does not properly consist in letters, whether written or printed, but in the true sense of the words: which no one can better explain than the true Church, to which Christ committed this sacred deposit; and which, by the various versions, faithfully transmits to posterity its genuine sense, handed down as it were

* Grier's Reply to Milner, pp. 98, 99.

(quasi per manus traditum) from the Apostles, and received from the governors of the churches." Now every one must see that the *true Church* of which Bishop Walton speaks, was that pure and primitive Church which handed down its versions, liturgies, and offices, in various languages, and in remote parts of the world; and which, by its traditive testimony, its faith and practice, shows the true sense in which the Scriptures are to be understood. This is that traditive interpretation of which Chillingworth speaks when he says: "If you make it good unto us, that the same tradition down from the Apostles, hath delivered from age to age and from hand to hand, any interpretation of any Scripture, we are ready to embrace that also." And again: "If there be any traditive interpretation of Scripture, produce it, and prove it to be so, and we embrace it. But the tradition of all ages is one thing; and the authority of the present Church, much more of the Roman Church, which is but a part, and a corrupted part, of the Catholic Church, is another. And, therefore, though we are ready to receive both Scripture and the sense of Scripture, upon the authority of *Original Tradition*, yet we receive neither the one nor the other, upon the authority of your Church."* So the learned Bishop Bull: "With me it is, and always will be, a matter of conscience not to interpret the Holy Scriptures against the torrent of all the fathers and ancient doctors, unless when most evident arguments compel me to do so; an event which I believe will never happen. For certainly the consentient judgment of antiquity, and especially of primitive antiquity, ought to outweigh many probabilities and plausible reasonings."† So also the judicious and profound Hooker, in one of the very passages quoted by Dr. Milner: "That which all men's experience teacheth them, may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and

* Chillingworth, *Scripture the only Rule to judge Controversies*, chap. ii. § 88, 89, 10th ed. fol. 1742, p. 104.

† Bulli Opera, ed. Grabe, 1703, fol. p. 9.

brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cause."*

From the language of these learned scholars, deep thinkers, and great divines, it will be seen that they neither denied the just influence of the true Church Catholic, nor the legitimate use of private judgment. The voice of the Church is the reason and learning of the whole Church; and in appealing to it we do no more than what is done by the best judges in interpreting the laws of the land. As Bishop Walton says, in the passage of which Dr. Milner took only such part as suited his purpose, the ancient versions, the liturgies and divine offices of the Catholic Church, dispersed throughout the world, in languages spoken at the time by all sorts and conditions of men, exhibited the sense in which the Scriptures were originally understood. In all things necessary to faith and salvation they speak with wonderful consent; and even on doubtful and obscure points the knowledge of these versions, and of the daily practice in the pure and primitive Church, enables us greatly to elucidate the true sense of the Holy Bible. To these sources modern commentators are greatly obliged, though they who ignorantly rail at antiquity know it not. It is only when men confine themselves to one version, as they of the Roman communion do to the Vulgate, that errors and heresies creep in. And hence it is that we of the English Communion, who recognize the Hebrew and Greek canon as our rule of faith, and use all the lights derived from the diligent comparison of ancient versions, and the writings of Oriental and Greek fathers, as well as those of the Latin Church, undaunted by any curse, and unfettered by any modern authority pretending to be infallible, have been enabled, through God's blessing, to restore and keep steadfastly the faith of primitive catholicity. All the differences between us and the Roman Communion, have grown out of their servile adherence to the Latin version, and their receipt of traditive testimony and interpretation, since the fatal divisions which began in the fifth century. These differences with us are chiefly confined to their own solitary communion, and even in their communion enforced, as matters of faith, only since the Council of Trent.

* Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* b. iii. 8.

Hebrew and Greek! exclaims Dr. Milner: must "all sorts of persons, labourers, sailors, women, (!) &c., learn Hebrew and Greek?"—No, my good sir, no more than all sorts of persons in your Communion must learn Latin. Thanks be to God, we have a Prayer-book which even the most ignorant of our laity can understand, and which embodies in a devotional form, the Catholic interpretation of the Scriptures. If, as I have already observed, the noble design of the English reformers had been carried out, not an individual in the wide expanse where the English language is spoken, would have failed to be instructed in the true sense of the Bible. He would have been brought into the Church by holy baptism before he had committed actual sin. He would have been taught what a solemn vow and profession had been then made in his name to lead a godly and a Christian life. His childhood would have been catechized at least every Sunday in the first principles of the Catholic and Apostolic faith. He would have been confirmed at a proper age, and admitted to the Holy Communion. He would have listened, every day of his life, to four chapters in the Bible, read by a learned priest, who *did* know Hebrew and Greek,—but read in his own language, and with such just emphasis and intonation, that the very reading would have conveyed to him the true sense of God's holy word. He would, every day of his life, have repeated the creeds, and united in those sublime devotions which, saints and martyrs have used, in all parts of the Christianized world, and in the brightest and purest ages of the Catholic Church. Who marred all this goodly design? Alas! Do not you know? Have you never read of emissaries from Rome who assumed the garb and imitated the manner of the Puritan teachers; prayed extempore, and reviled, as being popish, the liturgy of the Church of England? History faithfully testifies that the sad variety of schisms and heresies which are now to you such an occasion of triumph, grew out of your own cruelties, and were fomented by your own machinations. To the end of the reign of Edward, the Church of England was united. Who kindled the fires of Smithfield and drove to Geneva those English exiles, who, in their deep and burning resentment, were there smitten with the love of Calvinism, because it seemed to them the more opposed to your

corruptions?—But I forbear; for I seek not to aggravate our dissensions, or to recriminate, even where recrimination would be justly due.

Even in the present weak and imperfect state of our Communion, longing as we do for a more devout and general fulfilment of the Church's purposes, I will be bold to say that no one who clearly understands our system and follows it in his daily practice, can be carried about with every wind of doctrine and the cunning craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Blind submission is *your* system; enlightened and deferential submission is *ours*. The instance I have mentioned of a poor woman who could not read, and thousands of such instances might be recorded, clearly proves that the more we carry out the designs of the English Reformers the better will the Bible be understood. As the priest's lips should keep knowledge, so should the people seek the law at his mouth. It is true, as you have said, that "there are in Scripture things hard to be understood which the unlearned and unstable wrest unto their own destruction." 2 Pet. iii. 16. So it was in the days of the Apostles; so it is now; and so it ever will be, till faith is swallowed up of knowledge. But in our Communion, the well taught Christian knows whence the obscurity proceeds, and how far it extends. If God has not clearly revealed it, our ignorance will not be laid to our account; and if the obscurity arises from being confined to a single version, the well taught Christian will apply to him who is set over him in the Lord, to resolve his doubts. There is no more uncertainty in our Communion, than there has ever been in the Catholic Church; and all attempts to enforce the decision of a present *infallible* interpreter, end only in spiritual tyranny. The fires of the Inquisition have made *hypocrites* but not *converts*.

CHAPTER IV.

DR. MILNER'S QUOTATIONS.

AFTER having thus endeavoured to convince his readers that the Bible in itself is wholly uncertain and inexplicable,

Dr. Milner proceeds, in his tenth eleventh, and twelfth letters, with which he ends his first part, to establish what he calls "the true rule" of faith, and to answer objections.

This "true rule" of faith, he says, is "Scripture and Tradition," but both Scripture and Tradition *only* as "pounded and explained by the Catholic Church." It "implies—a two-fold rule, and an interpreter or judge to explain the rule."*

Now the fallacy of his whole argument lies in *assuming* the very points which he should have *proved*. If I have been so fortunate as to have made the various senses clear to my reader, in which the words *tradition* and *catholic* have been used, and their true signification, he will be in no danger from the juggling dexterity of Dr. Milner. Let it be *proved* that "traditions" have come from Christ and his Apostles, and we receive and embrace them. Let it be *proved* that the Roman communion is exclusively Christ's holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, and his reasoning will then be just and consistent.

I begin with his quotation from Blackstone's Commentaries on the *lex non scripta*. There must undoubtedly have been unwritten law in the Church, as Blackstone defines unwritten law in England: "1. General customs; which are the universal rule of the whole kingdom, and form the common law in its stricter and more usual signification; 2. particular customs; which for the most part affect only the inhabitants of particular districts; 3. certain particular laws; which by custom are adopted and used by some particular courts of pretty general and extensive jurisdiction."† But Blackstone limits his meaning by various cautions. "The authority of these maxims rests entirely," he says, "upon general reception and usage; and the only method of proving that this or that maxim is a rule of the common law, is by showing that it hath been always the custom to observe it." Even in the passage quoted by Dr. Milner, where the learned commentator speaks of the judges as "depositories of the laws," and "living oracles who must decide in all cases of doubt, and are bound by an oath to decide according to the law of the land," Blackstone argues that if their decision be

* Let. X.

† Blackstone, Com. Introd. sec. iii.

"contrary to reason, much more if it be clearly contrary to the divine law—it is not the established custom of the realm, as has been erroneously determined." Apply this, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Christian Church, and it will be seen, that our XXth and XXXIVth Articles are based upon exactly the same principles. Is it not passing strange that Dr. Milner should have so presumed on the ignorance of his readers, as to quote Blackstone's Commentaries! Let any one read the first and second sections, as well as the third, of his Introduction, and he will see how far the English judge was from acknowledging the claims of Rome. But by garbled extracts any writer may be made to prove what was farthest from his thoughts. In speaking of the Roman law, Blackstone condemns the practice of giving to rescripts of the emperor the force of perpetual law; and then he adds—"In like manner, the canon laws or decretal epistles of the popes, are all of them rescripts in the strictest sense. Contrary to all true forms of reasoning, they argue from particulars to generals."*

Dr. Milner next proceeds to show that Christ did commission his Apostles; that they were to continue this commission to the end of the world; and that they and their successors constitute the ever-living and speaking tribunal of the Church. It is truly delightful to find a passage in his book so unexceptionable. It is true that connected with this passage there are a few *inuendoes* and *slight assumptions*; such as "fifteen hundred years before Protestants existed," and "the Apostles, before they separated to preach the Gospel to different nations, agreed upon a short symbol or profession of faith, called the Apostles' Creed, but even this, they did not commit to writing." The whole of this last assertion is very doubtful. He quotes Rufinus for it, a Latin writer of rather dubious authority, who flourished *about 350 years after the Apostles!* But *inuendoes* and *assumptions* are the food on which Dr. Milner lives, and we may therefore pardon him.

We cannot, however, be so indulgent as to his assertion that "during the first five ages of the church, no less than in the subsequent ages, the unwritten word, or tradition, was held in equal estimation by her with the Scripture itself."

* Introd. sect. ii.

I shall hope to show the contrary by the very writers whom he quotes, but quotes imperfectly.

He begins with St. Ignatius; not quoting his Epistles, but what Eusebius says of him. Why was this? Because in the whole seven Epistles of St. Ignatius *not a word occurs about traditions*. The narrative of Eusebius indeed states that the martyr exhorted the several churches to which he wrote "to adhere firmly to the traditions of the Apostles;" that is to what the Apostles had delivered to them; and then Eusebius adds, that for the greater security, Ignatius thought it necessary to commit what he had said to writing.* A strange remark this, if Eusebius was so much in favour of *unwritten* traditions!

So with regard to the Epistle of St. Polycarp, Dr. Milner vaguely remarks that "the same sentiments appear in the Epistles of Ignatius; and also in *those*" (!) (as if there were more than one) "of his fellow-martyr St. Polycarp, *the angel of the church of Smyrna*. Rev. ii. 8." The same sentiments in the *one* Epistle of St. Polycarp, as in the *seven* of St. Ignatius! Could Dr. Milner have read them and have made such a blunder? In the only extant Epistle of St. Polycarp, which was written to the Philippians when he sent them the collection of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, there is not a word about traditions. But, though silent about traditions, he speaks in it of St. Paul's Epistle to them; quotes the Epistle to the Ephesians *as Scripture*, expressing his trust that they were *well exercised in the Holy Scriptures*; and shows, throughout, his own familiar acquaintance with the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John. This, let it be remembered, was probably not later than A. D. 108.

Dr. Milner's next witness is St. Irenæus; and as from a cursory and superficial inspection of the passages he has quoted, his readers may consider them as conclusive, I must take the pains of setting before them a summary of that venerable father's argument. In his first book, he gives an account of the Valentinian heresy, as derived from Simon the Magician. The second book contains his confutation of their errors. In the third, he proceeds to exhibit *proofs from the*

* Ecc. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36.

Scriptures that the Church hath received from the Apostles and distributed to her children the only true and life-giving faith. And then he adds: "For the Lord of all things gave to his Apostles the power of the gospel; by whom we have known the truth, that is the doctrine of the Son of God, and to whom the Lord said, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me—and Him that sent me.' Luke x. 16." He then, in the first chapter, speaks of our knowing the economy of our salvation "by no other than those through whom the gospel came to us; which indeed they *then preached*, and *afterwards by the will of God delivered to us in the Scriptures*, to be the foundation and pillar of our faith."

With the exception of a few fragments, gleaned from subsequent Greek writers, the original work of St. Irenæus is unhappily lost. It is "handed down" to us only in a barbarous Latin translation, which often obscures the sense. This any one may see by comparing it with so much of the Greek as time has spared. Yet even the Latin in the last sentence quoted, *in scripturis nobis tradiderunt*, shows that the "traditions of the apostles," that is, *what the apostles delivered*, having *first been preached*, was *afterwards*, as far as regards doctrine, *by Divine direction committed to writing*.

St. Irenæus proceeds to say that "Matthew among the Hebrews published the Scripture of the gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel in Rome, and laying the foundation of that church. After their departure, Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter delivered to us in writing (Lat. *per scripta nobis tradidit*) what Peter had preached. Luke also, the follower of Paul, deposited in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, likewise the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his bosom, set forth the gospel, while he dwelt at Ephesus."

Let me here ask what becomes of Dr. Milner's assertion, in this tenth letter, that the Canon of Scripture was not settled till the end of the fourth century? We here find a Bishop of the second century giving this account of the four gospels, and quoting familiarly in his writings almost the whole of the New Testament! St. Irenæus often speaks with the greatest reverence of both the Old and New, as

Divine Scriptures, the Oracles of God, and Scriptures of the Lord. And so in the following passages: "Since therefore the *Scriptures in general*, both *Prophetic* and *Evangelic*, are open and clear and may be heard of all, though all do not believe," &c. And again: "With our assertions agree the preaching of the Apostles, the authority of the Lord, the announcement of the Prophets, the dictation of the Apostles, and the ministration of the Law."* The Valentinians he says, in another place, "endeavour by perverted translations and false interpretations to create arguments not only from the *Evangelic* and *Apostolic* writings, but also from the *Law* and the *Prophets*."† These expressions show that Irenæus had a code or collection of the Gospels and Apostolical Epistles, as well as of the Law and the Prophets. But this I mention incidentally; not meaning to divert the reader's attention from the point of *unwritten tradition* which is now under examination, and to which therefore I now return.

In the second chapter of his third book Irenæus observes that the Heretics being convicted by the Scriptures, accuse the Scriptures themselves as incorrect, without authority, and contradictory, so that the truth cannot be discovered from them by any who are ignorant of tradition. For it was not delivered in writing, but by word of mouth. For which reason Paul said, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world." 1 Cor. ii. 6. This wisdom, each one of them says, is that which he has found. It is sometimes in Valentinus, sometimes in Marcion, sometimes in Cerinthus, sometimes in Basilides, sometimes in every objector, each one making himself the rule of truth. But when we challenge them to that tradition which is from the Apostles, and which is preserved in the Churches by the successions of Presbyters, they then are opposed to tradition, saying that they are wiser not only than the Presbyters, but even than the Apostles, and that they have found out the sincere truth; for the Apostles mixed many things that were legal, with the words of the Saviour; and not only the

* Iren. adv. Hær. ed. Grabe, lib. ii. c. 46 and 66. Ed. Massuet, lib. ii. c. 27 and 35.

† Ibid. lib. i. ed. Grabe, c. i. 6. Ed. Massuet, c. iii. 6.

Apostles but even the Lord himself; so that they, (the heretics), alone know the hidden mystery, undoubtedly, purely, and sincerely. Thus it happens that they consent neither to the Scriptures nor tradition: In consequence of such conduct, the good father compares them to slippery serpents; and he therefore proceeds to argue, in the third chapter, from the tradition of the Apostles, manifested in the whole world, and in every Church.

"We can enumerate those," he says, "who, by the Apostles were established Bishops in the Churches and their successors even to our time, who have never taught or known the ravings of these men. If the Apostles had known any hidden mysteries which they taught only to the perfect, would they not have delivered them to the persons to whom they committed the Churches?" He then singles out the Roman Church and names twelve Bishops, from Linus to Eleutherius, who was Bishop when he wrote. By this succession the faith which had been delivered to the Church by the Apostles had been continued even to his day.* He next mentions Polycarp as not only taught by Apostles, but constituted by them Bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom Irenæus had seen, "who came to Rome when Anicetus was Bishop, and there converted many of these heretics preaching only that one and only truth which he had received from the Apostles and delivered to the Church. All the Churches in Asia bear testimony to these things and so they who have hitherto succeeded Polycarp. The Church of Ephesus also, founded by Paul, and where John resided even to the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles."

"We must, therefore," he observes in the fourth chapter, "not look for the truth among others, but take it from the Church, since the Apostles made that their rich depositary. The Church is the entrance into life and all the rest are thieves and robbers. If any dispute arises, even on a small point, ought we not to recur to the most ancient Churches in which the Apostles were conversant? Even if the Apostles

* Eam quam habet ab Apostolis Traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos. Iren. ed. Grabe, p. 200. Ed. Massuet, p. 175.

had not left us the Scriptures, ought we not to follow the order of that tradition which they delivered to the same persons to whom they committed the Churches? But many nations of Barbarians who believe in Christ, assent to this regulation, having salvation written not on paper and with ink, but in their hearts by the Spirit, diligently keeping the old tradition, believing in one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things that are therein, through Jesus Christ the Son of God. He, on account of his most eminent love towards the work of his own hands, vouchsafed to be born of a virgin, uniting in himself man to God, suffered under Pontius Pilate," &c. These were the truths which the Valentinians denied, but which the Barbarians believed—"Barbarians without letters and ignorant of our speech, but most wise on account of their faith, and as regards thought, and practice, and manner of life. If any one should make known to them in their own language these inventions of the heretics, they would stop their ears and flee far away, not enduring even to hear such blasphemous talk. Thus by that old tradition of the Apostles, they would not receive into the conception of their minds any thing so monstrous."

Such is the argument of Irenæus with the Valentinians; an impious sect who could hardly be called Christians, because they denied that the God of the Jews was the same as the God of the Christians. He pressed them with proofs from the Gospels first preached by the Apostles, and then by Divine direction committed to writing, that the God of the Old Testament was the God of the New. To this they replied by vilifying the Scriptures, asserting that the truth could not be discovered from them without tradition, and that *that tradition* was such only as the Valentinians added in explanation of them.—Very well, rejoins Irenæus, let us appeal to tradition; but what tradition shall it be? Not surely the tradition of Valentine, who came to Rome so late as under Hyginus the eighth Bishop of that See, but the tradition of the Apostles, handed down in the Church by a continual succession of Bishops in all parts of the world. Even if the Apostles had left us *no* Scriptures, we should have had this tradition to guard us from your errors; and that it would have been effectual is evident from the example of those ignorant Barbarians, who have been converted to the Christian

faith by the preaching of the Gospel, and who, if they were to understand your blasphemies, would stop their ears and flee from you.

Is not this a fair statement of the argument? What then do the words of Irenæus prove about *unwritten tradition as equal in value to the Bible*? Even, says Irenæus, if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures. Dr. Milner prints these words in capital letters. But the argument is just upon a par with that of the desolate island, which we hear from other quarters—if men were cast upon a desert island without a priest, could they make one? If men were cast there without a Bible—what then? Why, they must do as well as they could, remember it as well as they could, and comfort themselves with the thought, that the Providence who had cast them there would not require what they had no power to perform. Blessed be God, ours is no desert island without priest or Bible! There is no power which can take either from us. We have the Bible; and we have also the Apostolic Succession; and the traditive interpretation of the Church, not locked up from the laity, but brought home to their understanding and their affections in the Book of Common Prayer.

Tertullian was somewhat later than Irenæus, but was engaged in similar controversies with the Gnostics of his time. The unfairness of Dr. Milner with regard to this author, consists in selecting and arranging his quotations so as to make his readers believe that Tertullian meant to depress the Scriptures and exalt unwritten tradition. To illustrate my meaning, I quote the following passage, which occurs at the beginning of his treatise on the prescriptions of heretics, the very same treatise which Dr. Milner has so largely cited. "These wonderers (*miriones* in Semler's edition, *infirmiores* in that of Rigaltius,—these weaker men*) are built up to their own ruin by certain persons who have been caught by the heresy. Why, say they, does he or she, the most faithful, the most prudent, the most experienced in the church, pass over to their side? Who that says this does not return answer to himself, that they on whom heresy can have such influence, are not to be estimated as prudent, or faithful, or experienced? What if some bishop, or deacon, or

* In either case speaking contemptuously of the heretics.

widow, or virgin, or doctor or martyr, should fall from the faith, do heresies thereby seem to acquire truth? Do we try the faith by the persons, or the persons by the faith? No one is wise, no one is faithful, no one superior, unless he be a Christian; and no one is a Christian but 'he that endureth to the end.'* Now, applicable as I may think this passage to Mr. Newman, or to any others who have sacrilegiously suffered themselves to be re-baptized and re-ordained, as if they were not in the Catholic Church before they entered your communion, would you say that I had acted fairly towards them, or you, or my author, were I to quote this passage as a conclusive argument? Would it not be a perversion, if I should seek to prove your heresy or their apostacy, on the authority of Tertullian? And yet this would be nothing more than what Dr. Milner has done with regard to the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the catholicity of our communion.

Tertullian commenting on the words of our Saviour, *seek and ye shall find*, which the heretics had wrongly applied, says, (cap. 10,) that the reason of that saying may be considered under three heads, the *thing* sought, and the *time* and *mode* of seeking. We must seek what Christ instituted, and seek until we find it. Till we believe, we have not found it. Shall we seek (cap. 12) it among the heretics who are the enemies of the faith? The rule of faith (cap. 13) requires us to believe in one God, &c. And then he gives in substance the Apostles' Creed, which the Gnostics of course denied. After which he proceeds to say, (cap. 14,) that we are saved by faith, not by knowledge. To be exercised in the Scriptures may proceed only from curiosity and the pride of knowledge, not from faith. While they are still seeking they do not possess; and if they do possess, they do not believe. They are not Christians. They are conscious to themselves that they are not Christians. Coming with such deceit, of what faith do they dispute? What truth can be protected by liars?—Such is the context; and then follows the passage which Dr. Milner has paraphrased to suit his own purposes, but which I shall more strictly translate. All I ask of my readers is, to compare my translation with his.

"*But they*" (the heretics) "*make use of the Scriptures*

* Tertul. de Præscr. Hæret. c. iii.

and argue from the Scriptures! Of course: from what else could they argue concerning matters of faith, unless from the writings of faith?

CAP. 15. "We come then to the point at issue. The preceding parts of this our treatise have been directed and arranged for this very end; that we should hence come to that conflict to which our adversaries challenge us. They spread the Scriptures as a snare, and by this their audacity they forthwith stagger some. In the very conflict *they weary the firm, capture the weak, and those who are neither weak nor strong they dismiss with doubt. At this very step, therefore, do we erect our principal barrier. We will not admit them to that disputation concerning the Scriptures.* If this their strength consist in possessing them, then he who has full possession of the Scriptures, ought to watch and guard against the admission of any one to the same privilege who can have no right to such possession.

CAP. 16. "I might seem to infer this from a motive of distrust, or a desire of taking another position, if reason did not demand it. But, in the first place, our faith requires obedience to the Apostle's mandate, not to engage in strifes of words—not to accustom our ears to novelties—not to contend with a heretic after one admonition*—not after disputation. Thus does he forbid disputation, assigning rebuke as the cause for encountering a heretic, and this alone because he is not a Christian, nor seems capable of being corrected as a Christian, once and again, or before two or three witnesses.† He is to be corrected, in order that there may be no dispute with him. The next reason is, because *controversy about the Scriptures is of no avail, unless plainly that one should undergo a turning of his stomach or his brain.*

CAP. 17. "Heresy itself does not receive some Scriptures. Those which it does receive, it changes by additions or mutilations to serve its own purposes. If it receives, it does not receive entire; or if to any extent it prefers the entire, it then perverts the meaning by its various expositions. An adulterating sense prevents the truth from being heard, as much as a corrupted reading. Various prejudices necessarily hinder the acknowledgment of that by which they are defeated. They rely upon their own false fabrications, or what they have taken

* 1 Tim. xi. 3 Titus iii. 10

† St. Matt. xviii. 16.

from ambiguous phraseology. O thou who art most exercised in the Scriptures, what wilt thou promote? What thou defendest thine adversary will deny. What thou shalt deny, is defended. Thou wilt lose nothing but thy voice in the contention. Thou wilt gain nothing but bile from the blasphemy.

CAP. 18. "If there be any one for whose sake thou descendest into the conflict of the Scriptures, that thou mayest confirm one who doubts, will it bend him to the truth, or will it not rather sink him into heresy? Moved by this very thing, that he sees thou hast promoted nothing by placing thyself on an equal footing of denying or defending what is maintained on either side, he will certainly go away more doubtful from this equal altercation, utterly unable to judge which is heresy. It enables the adversaries themselves to retort upon us. Of necessity they will say, that it is rather we who adulterate the Scriptures, and charge with falsehood their expositions, which are only for the defence of truth.

CAP. 19. "*Therefore there must be no challenging to the Scriptures, nor any combat arrayed where the chances of victory are nothing, or more or less uncertain. For although a conference on the Scriptures should not so terminate as to leave each side equal, yet the order of things required that what is now only a subject of disputation should be established as a previous proposition. To whom does the faith itself belong? Whose are the Scriptures? From whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom, was that discipline delivered (Lat.—sit tradita disciplina) by which men become Christians? For wherever it shall appear that the truth of the Christian discipline and faith exists, there will be the truth of the Scriptures, and of expositions, and of all the traditions of the Christians.*"

I would speak with all due modesty of my own translation of the difficult Latinity of this admirable author, and with the utmost charity of Dr. Milner; yet when the reader sees that the parts which I have marked with italics, are all that he chose to take; when he sees that he awkwardly dove-tailed together the end of the fourteenth, the middle of the fifteenth, and a scrap of the sixteenth, with the nineteenth chapter; when he sees that he so interpreted the language as entirely to change the meaning of his author, and make parts appear continuous and connected which are widely separated and distinct; when he sees

that all this was done for such persons as Mr. and Mrs. James Brown, and Mr. and Mrs. Topham, and friend Rankin and his wife, who could not possibly go to the original and detect Dr. Milner's dishonesty; I ask him seriously to reflect whether a cause which must be supported by such artifice, can be the cause of God's truth!

It is by such methods that the venerable writers of the Catholic Church have been injured, and an unfounded prejudice against them has been created, which has led to the neglect of their works in modern times. But when Jewel, Andrews, Hooker, Morton, Pearson and the two Casaubons wrote, and I might add many more to the list, the state of things was far different. Dr. Milner sneers at them in a note, as having "laboured hard to press the fathers into their service."—PRESS quoth he! I would be glad to know what greater *presser* there ever was than he. He has *pressed* six whole chapters of Tertullian, into half a page, and *pressed* them so effectually as to *press out* all their real meaning.

His next quotation from Tertullian, occupies in the original six chapters more! It is truly curious as a specimen of *pressing*; and I will therefore proceed in the analysis of the treatise on præscriptions; more, however, to rescue the author from unjust imputations, than from any feeling of obligation to give further proof of Dr. Milner's dexterity.

We have seen that in the nineteenth chapter, it was very far from Tertullian's intention to represent the Scriptures as insufficient in themselves to prove the truth of Christian doctrine, or to defend the Church against heresy. All he asserted was, that the adversaries were unworthy of such a privilege; that they would use it for dishonest purposes; and that Christians would gain nothing by the contest. He proceeds therefore to point out a more commendable method of dealing with them.

CAP. 20. "Let our Lord Christ be permitted to say who he is, of what God he is the Son, of what material he is man and God, of what faith he is the teacher, of what reward he is the surety," &c.—all questions of the Gnostic heresy—what Apostles he commissioned to baptize all nations, their beginning in Judea, departure into the world, and promul-

gating every where the same doctrine of the same faith—the churches they founded, other churches formed from these—so many churches constituting but one—the communication of peace, the appellation of fraternity, the one tradition of the same sacrament.

CAP. 21. "Hence we direct our præscription. If the Lord Jesus Christ sent his Apostles to preach, then no other preachers are to be received but those whom Christ instituted." . . . What they preached to the churches which they founded, as well by word of mouth, as afterwards by their epistles, is what Christ had revealed to them. We are to hold what the churches received from the Apostles, what the Apostles received from Christ, what Christ received from God. It remains for us to show whether our doctrine is from the tradition of the Apostles, and consequently all other from falsehood.

CAP. 22. What do they say to invalidate our præscription? Sometimes that the Apostles did *not* know all things; sometimes that the Apostles *did* know all things, but did not deliver (tradidisse) all things to all persons. In both, they cast the blame on Christ, who sent either badly taught or dissembling Apostles. Will any one in his senses believe them ignorant, when he considers their intercourse with their Master? Was Peter ignorant, who was called the rock, had the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and the power of binding and loosing? Was John ignorant, the beloved disciple, who leaned on his master's bosom, and to whom alone the Lord revealed the treachery of Judas? Were they ignorant who witnessed the transfiguration? Were they ignorant on whom the Holy Ghost descended to lead them into all truth?

CAP. 23. But Peter and his companions were reprehended by Paul; and this objection is considered at some length by Tertullian, in this and the next chapter, and shown to be irrelevant to the subject. He then (CAP. 25) proceeds to the second contradictory assertion, that the Apostles were *not* ignorant, and did not preach different doctrine, but that they did not choose to reveal all things to all; for St. Paul said to Timothy, Keep that which is committed to thee, &c. To this he replies, that what St. Paul committed to Timothy he committed before many witnesses; and charged him to commit to faithful men; who should teach others also.

He proceeds to say (CAP. 26) that the Gospel is not to be ministered inconsiderately; that pearls are not to be cast before swine, nor that which is holy given to the dogs; but that our Lord himself commanded them to publish on the house-tops what they had heard in secret, and to place their light upon a candlestick, not under a bushel. If the Apostles did not do this, they either neglected, or did not understand their duty. He appeals to their intrepidity and honesty, to show that with them there was no suppression of the truth; and he adds that they remembered our Lord's injunction, Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay.

CAP. 27. If then it be incredible, either that the Apostles were ignorant, or that they did not publish the whole arrangement of the rule to all, could the churches have misinterpreted their meaning? The Galatians and Corinthians were blamed by the Apostles; but this specious objection only proves that they were corrected; and the other churches commended by the Apostles are now united with them in the same faith.

CAP. 28. But supposing that they had all erred! This supposition would impugn the Holy Ghost, the Steward of God; and the Vicegerent of Christ would have neglected his office. Can it be supposed that so many and so great churches should all mistake with regard to the one faith? should all agree in one mistake? Error would have produced a diversity of doctrine in the churches. That which is found to be one among so many cannot be an error.

CAP. 29. But granting that some how or other there was an error, how could it exist before there were any heresies? Truth perhaps was waiting for some Marcionites or Valentini-ans to deliver her from her thralldom! In the mean time the Gospel was badly preached. What! so many millions badly baptized; so many works of faith badly ministered; so many virtues, so many gifts of grace badly wrought; so many sacerdotal and ministerial offices badly performed; in fine, so many acts of martyrdom suffered badly and in vain! . . . Were there any Christians before Christ? or any heresies before true doctrine? In all things truth precedes imitation."

CAP. 30. At that time, where was Marcion the Stoic, or Valentine the Platonist? They lived under Antoninus, and professed, in the Roman Church, and under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherius, almost to believe the Catholic faith, until, on account of their restless curiosity, by which they corrupt-

ed the brethren, they were once or twice ejected from the Church. He then proceeds to expose the conduct of the heresiarchs; after which he adds: "let them show that they are new Apostles, that Christ has again descended, again taught, again been crucified, again risen from the dead." Let them again work miracles as Apostles were wont to do. *They raised the dead, but these kill the living.*

CAP. 31. But to return to what has been said of the priority of truth, and the lateness of falsehood. It is taught in the parable. The Lord had sown the good seed, before his enemy the devil sowed the tares. By a figure, this distinction is applied to doctrines; for elsewhere the word of God is compared to seed, so that it is manifest from the very order, that what is first delivered (*quod sit prius traditum*) is of the Lord and true. That is foreign and false which is brought in last. This decision will remain against all later heresies whatsoever, the truth of which no continuance and firm persuasion can ever defend.

CAP. 32. "If any heresies dare to engraft themselves on the Apostolic age, so that they may seem to have been delivered (*traditæ*) from the Apostles, because they existed under the Apostles, we can say, *Let them exhibit the origin of their churches; let them unroll the order of their Bishops, and show by successions from the beginning downwards that their first Bishop had some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men*, some one at least who had continued with the Apostles for his ordainer and predecessor. In this way the Apostolic churches have brought down their enrollment. Thus the Church of the Smyrniæans produces Polycarp, placed there by John. Thus the Church of the Romans produces Clement, ordained by Peter. So in like manner can the rest of the churches exhibit those whom the Apostles constituted in the Episcopacy, as the propagators of the Apostolic seed. Let the heretics feign something of this sort, for what, after blasphemy, are they not permitted to do? By all their feigning they will effect nothing. Their very doctrine, compared with the Apostolic, shows by its diversity and contrariety, that no Apostles or Apostolic men could have been its authors; for as the Apostles taught nothing different among themselves, so the Apostolic men could not have uttered anything in opposition to the Apostles unless they had separated from them. According to this pattern will they be challenged

by those churches which, though they can produce no Apostle or Apostolic man as their founder, because they are much later, and are daily instituted, yet are considered as not less Apostolic, for their agreement in the same faith, and the consanguinity of their doctrine. Thus let all the heresies, being challenged by our churches, according to each pattern, prove themselves, in any way they can imagine, to be Apostolic. They neither are so, nor can prove themselves to be what they are not; nor are they received to peace and communion by the churches which are in any manner Apostolical."

Tertullian then proceeds in the next three chapters, (33, 34 and 35,) to show from the Epistles of St. Paul, that many of the corrupt doctrines held by the heretics of his time, were there expressly condemned; and that such as are not named in the Apostolic writings, have been added since their time. Having done this, he continues in the 36th and 37th chapters as follows: "Come then thou who wouldst exercise thy curiosity in the matter of thy salvation, pass through the Apostolic Churches, where the very chairs of the Apostles (*cathedræ apostolorum*) are presiding in their places,—where their authentic epistles (*literæ*) are still read publicly, uttering their voice, and representing their features. Is Achaia nearest to thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi. If thou canst bend thy steps into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. *If thou art in the vicinity of Italy, thou hast the Roman Church.* From this source, also, authority is for us most readily established. *Oh, happy Church, for which the Apostles poured forth their whole doctrine with their blood! Where Peter suffered a like passion with his Lord; where Paul had for his crown the death of John; where the Apostle John was immersed unhurt in burning oil, and afterwards exiled to the island.* Let us see what it will say, what it will teach. It bears like testimony with the African Churches. It has known but one God, the Creator of the Universe, and Christ Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator, and the Resurrection of the Flesh. It mingles the Law and the Prophets with the writings of the Evangelists and the Apostles. Thence it bears* the faith, signs with water, clothes with

* Some read drinks, *potat* for *portat*.

the Holy Spirit, feeds with the Eucharist, exhorts to martyrdom, and receives no one contrary to this Institution." After a few sentences, on the degenerate growth of heresy, he returns to that which was the principal scope of his argument. "*If these things are so, if the truth is adjudged to us who walk according to that rule which the Church hath 'handed down' (tradidit) from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God, then the reason is evident of our original proposition, that heretics are not to be admitted to debate with us concerning the Scriptures, because without the Scriptures we prove that they do not pertain to the Scriptures.* For if they are heretics they cannot be Christians: the name of heretics not being had from Christ, by their own voluntary admission. Thus, not being Christians, they can have no just claim to the Christian writings. *We may with propriety say to them, Who are you? When and whence did you come? When you are not mine, what are you doing with mine? By what right are you, Marcion, felling my trees? By whose permission, Valentine, do you turn the waters of my fountains? By what power do you, Apelles, move my landmarks? Why do the rest of you, at your pleasure, sow and pasture here? It is my property. I have long been in possession. I have the valid title-deeds from the very authors to whom the estate belonged. I am the heir of the Apostles. As they have ordered by their will, as they have left in trust, as they have established under oath, such is my tenure. You, certainly, as aliens and enemies, they have for ever disinherited and disowned. Heretics! Whence comes it that ye are aliens and enemies of the Apostles, except from diversity of doctrine? Which doctrine, every one of you, of his own will, and in direct opposition to the Apostles, have either produced or received.*"

Such is the sublime and eloquent language of the earliest of the Latin Fathers, from which Dr. Milner has culled a few passages, and sewed them together, like the fig-leaves of Paradise, to cover his nakedness. They prove incontestably, that the Scriptures were the rule of faith, and that all the tradition which the early Church regarded, was the traditive interpretation of the Bible, the sense in which it was understood in Achaia, in Macedonia, in Asia, in the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church, as well as in Africa, where Tertullian lived, and at Rome, which to that part of Africa was most easily accessible.

As to the book "*de Corona Militis*," to which Dr. Milner refers, he might just as well have quoted Hooker; for the argument in both is precisely similar. In A. D. 201, when Caracalla and Geta, the sons of Severus, were saluted, the one Augustus, the other Cæsar, crowns of laurel had been distributed to the Roman soldiers to wear upon their heads. A Christian soldier, having scruples of conscience, held the wreath in his hand. In reply to the Tribune who questioned him for disobeying the Emperor's command, he only said, "I am a Christian." Tertullian praises him for this; and as other Christians had not had such scruples, and had justified their conduct by saying that the Scriptures did not forbid their wearing crowns, he replies, that with equal propriety it might be said on the other side, that it was not lawful to be thus crowned because the Scriptures did not command it. He then goes on to show, "at great length," as Dr. Milner says, that the discipline of the Church requires many things to be done or left undone, which are not mentioned in the Scriptures, but not being repugnant to them, may be enforced on the authority of custom. "If no Scripture hath determined this," he observes, "certainly custom has given it strength, which without doubt has emanated from tradition. For how can any thing be brought into use (si traditum prius non est), if it be not first delivered to us?"*

It is precisely what is taught in our thirty-fourth Article, which refers, as I have shown (p. 39), to *Ecclesiastical Traditions*, and not to "*Traditions divine and Apostolical*."

Dr. Milner next proceeds to bring up his Greek forces; but as in Greek he is rather feeble, like a prudent general, he employs them sparingly. Origen is introduced with a flourish of trumpets as "the great Biblical Scholar;" but the extract is a very "Goose-Gibbie" of a man-at-arms,† taken, not from his author, but from some obscure commonplace, and dressed up for the occasion in a full-sized suit of dragon armour. Aye: Origen was a great Biblical scholar! and a great Biblical quoter too! for, after a most attentive perusal of *all* his works, Griesbach

* De Corona, cap. iii.

† Old Mortality, chaps. ii. and iii.

thought that a whole New Testament might be made out of his quotations. But why not tell us where this small sentence was to be found? Why oblige us to hunt through four folio volumes to find it? Take it as Dr. Milner has muffled it up, and to what does it amount? "We are not to credit those who, by citing real canonical Scriptures, seem to say, *Behold, the Word is in your houses*; for we are not to desert our *first ecclesiastical tradition*, nor to believe otherwise than as the churches of God have, in their perpetual succession, delivered to us." Here it is in the buff-jerkin of his own Italics; and what does it prove, excepting that the canonical Scriptures are to be understood according to the traditive interpretation of all the churches of God in their perpetual succession from the very first; a proof which Chillingworth allows, but which Mr. Newman has endeavored to subvert, because he clearly saw that it was fatal to his newly-adopted cause. Origen was an honest man, and therefore a good witness to matters of fact; but in the interpretation of the Scriptures, his imagination was very apt to run away with him. He was excommunicated 200 years after his death, and so lost his canonization.*

The quotations from Sts. Basil, Epiphanius and Chrysostom are sufficiently pointed out, but not greatly to the credit of Dr. Milner's learning or honesty. In St. Basil's Treatise on the Holy Ghost, addressed to Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, he is defending the variety of usage in the doxology, Glory be to the Father *with* (μετά) the Son, and *with* (σύν) the Holy Ghost, or *through* (διὰ) the Son, and *in* (ἐν) the Holy Ghost. He had been charged with introducing a foreign usage, not only novel, but incongruous and inconsistent. His whole treatise therefore turns upon the force of IN and WITH as applied to the Holy Ghost.† It is an excellent dissertation, written very much as a member of the English Communion would now write, and quoting copiously the same texts as we should now quote, to prove the divinity, personality, and agency of the Holy Ghost. Having in the 25th and 26th chapters defended the use of IN, he proceeds in the 27th to vindicate

* Socrates H. E. lib. vii. c. 45.

† Op. ed. Bened. Tom. iii. p. 3.

the use of WITH. It is from this chapter that Dr. Milner, or rather the common-place book from which he took it, *culls* the single sentence he has given. "Of the doctrines and preachings preserved in the Church we have some from the written teaching, and some we have received from the tradition of the Apostles, transmitted to us in the mystery. Both of which have the same force (πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβειαν) with regard to the divine service;* and these no one gainsays, certainly no one who is the least experienced in ecclesiastical institutions." This is the passage which Dr. Milner represents thus: "There are many doctrines preserved and preached in the Church, derived partly from written documents, partly from apostolical *tradition*, which have equally *the same force* in religion, and which no one contradicts who has the least knowledge of the Christian laws." Now why did he leave out the all important words "transmitted to us in the mystery," which limit and explain the author's meaning? "Every one who is the least experienced in ecclesiastical institutions" knows the extreme caution and secrecy observed by the early Church, with regard to the rites and ceremonies of her worship. The daily repetition of responses, creeds, sacraments, ceremonies, and all other ritual observances, fastened them in the memory, and so long as persecution endured, rendered the commission of them to writing unnecessary. That St. Basil had respect to these when he spoke of "the tradition of the Apostles transmitted to us in the mystery," is evident from the context. In the very next sentences following that which Dr. Milner has so perverted, he says: "For if we should undertake to reject *unwritten customs* as not having much force, we should ignorantly endanger the gospel in things of moment, yea rather should reduce the preaching to a bare name. For to mention that which is first and most common, who teaches by the Scripture that they who believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ should be signed with the sign of the cross? What Scripture teaches us the turning to the East in prayer?"

* That εὐσεβεια is often used to denote divine worship, see Schleusner Lex. in N. T. ad verb. Acts xvii. 23. Whom ye ignorantly worship, εὐσεβείῃ. Such appears to me to be the force of the word here, as St. Basil has reference to the Mystery or Sacrament of the Eucharist, the office for which was properly called the Liturgy.

Which of the saints hath left to us in writing the words of invocation at the consecration of the bread of the Eucharist and of the cup of blessing? For we do not content ourselves with what the Apostle or the Gospel hath commemorated, but we say, both before and after, other words which have great force with respect to the mystery, having received them from the unwritten teaching.*† The reader cannot but see that St. Basil is here contrasting the written Word with the Liturgical services of the Church, which had been preserved by general usage, and preserved in substance the same throughout the world.

As for St. Epiphanius, he was arguing against an obscure sect in the small region of Phrygia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia, who called themselves "the Apostolic" and "the Apotactici" or renouncers. They gloried in a voluntary poverty, renounced marriage, and accounted no other persons but themselves to be members of the Church. His argument therefore is confined principally to marriage and the possession of property. In treating of the former subject, he refers to 1 Cor. vii., and says in the passage quoted by Dr. Milner, "All the divine words are to be explained not by allegory, but as they really are, with reflection and good sense, so as to see the force of each expression. *It is needful also that tradition be used; for all things cannot be taken from the Divine Scriptures. Wherefore the holy Apostles delivered some things in writing, and others by tradition, as the holy Apostle says.*" He then refers to, rather than quotes, 1 Cor. xi. 2, and 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3.† If then the reader will examine these passages, and will turn back to what I have said at p. 31 on the meaning of 1 Cor. xi. 2, he will perceive that the discipline and practice of the Church is here appealed to by St. Epiphanius in support of that sober criticism of the Scriptures which proceeds from the use of reflection and good sense in weighing the force of every expression. And this, be it remembered, was written when the New Testament in its original language, and the daily worship of the Church in the same, were fully understood as the written and spoken language of all classes of people.

Greek is now to the greater part of Christians a dead lan-

* S. Bas. Op. ed. Bened. Tom. iii. p. 54, 55.

† St. Epiph. adv. Hæres. Ed. Petavii. Tom. i. p. 510, 11.

guage. It was so to Dr. Milner's *Protestant friends*; and to show them his own knowledge, *five words* from St. Chrysostom are inserted in the margin. I must again take the liberty of connecting text with context.

The homilies of St. Chrysostom *preached to the people* are a continual commentary on the Scriptures; and what Griesbach said of Origen, might with still greater propriety be said of him. If copies of almost any book of the New Testament were lost, we could nearly restore them from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom. His method of expounding the Scriptures is one which preachers of the present day would do well to imitate; and his works are the storehouse from which the eminent lexicographers and commentators among the German Protestants have brought forth much treasure, for which, while the holy bishop is forgotten, *they* are now cited and applauded. In his fourth homily on St. Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians, including from ch. ii. v. 6 to ch. iii. v. 2, after speaking of Antichrist and the terrible judgment to be inflicted upon all who have not faith, he proceeds, in his comment from v. 13th to 16th to speak of the spiritual privileges and duties of Christians. "Great," he says, "is our Lord if he thus grants us salvation; and great is the Holy Ghost who worketh in us sanctification. Wherefore does he" (the Apostle) "speak first of sanctification, and not of belief (see the latter part of v. 13th)? Because, even after sanctification, we have need of much faith, that we be not easily shaken. Do you see how he shows that nothing is of themselves, but all of God?" v. 15: Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our Epistle. "Hence it is manifest," comments Chrysostom, "that they" (i. e. Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus, in whose names the first as well as the second Epistle was written) "had not delivered all things by that Epistle, but many things also unwritten. In like manner, therefore, both the one and the other are worthy of belief; so that we ought to esteem as worthy of faith, the tradition of the Church also. It is tradition: seek nothing more."*

Why did not Dr. Milner add the comment on ch. iii.

* S. Jo. Chrysost. Opera, ed. Montf. tom. xi. 532.

6, which is in the next homily? Prayer, continues the preacher, alluding to the close of his last discourse on ch. iii. 1, 2, is of mighty efficacy, if it be accompanied by works—God is faithful and will give us the salvation He has promised, if we are not idle like stocks and stones.—We must cast every thing upon him, but we ourselves must also labour and contend unto our latest breath.—To love God is to endure, and not to murmur. v. 6: We command you therefore, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not according to the tradition which they received from us. “That is,” says Chrysostom, “it is not we who say these things, but Christ; for this is meant by ‘in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ Thus saying, he shows, how awful is the command. ‘We command you,’ he says, ‘by Christ.’ Nowhere hath Christ commanded us to be idle. ‘That ye withdraw yourselves,’ he says, ‘from every brother.’ Talk not to me of the *rich*, of the *poor*, of the *saint*. This is disorder. ‘That walketh,’ he says: that is, who *liveth*. ‘And not according to the tradition which they received from us.’ THE TRADITION WHICH IS BY WORKS, *he says*; and THE LORD ALWAYS CALLS THIS TRADITION.”*

Now why, I ask again, did not Dr. Milner add this passage in the very next homily, which would have explained the words he has brought forward so triumphantly? The only way I can save him from the charge of dishonesty, is to believe that he did not find it among the extracts of his common-place book.

This quotation at second or third hand may do well enough for those who rely on their reader's ignorance, or indolence, and whose object is victory rather than truth; but it is a treacherous mode of warfare, and often betrays the lion's skin upon the ass's back. Though evidently more at home in Latin than in Greek, Dr. Milner has not disdained to quote three small passages from the voluminous works of St. Augustine, with such marginal references as the following: L. i. contra Crescon. De util. Credend. and De bapt. contra Donat. l. v. The first book “against Cresconius,”

S. Jo. Chr. Op. ut sup. p. 536-8.

occupies in the Antwerp edition of his works nearly seven closely printed folio pages! The treatise “on the utility of believing,” nine! the fifth book “on baptism, against the Donatists,” nearly seven, and the whole seven books upwards of forty! He has quoted so inaccurately that I have been obliged to hunt over nearly thirty pages; with what success I shall now attempt to show: but why did he give so much trouble to them who attempt to track him?

1. Cresconius the Donatist had used this fallacious argument: You admit our baptism, but we do not admit yours. Therefore it is better to be baptized among the Donatists. Augustine answers: Although we admit your baptism, yet as long as you are divided from the Church, you do not enjoy the grace of baptism. The Canonical Scriptures, the authority common to us both, cannot decide this question directly, because no case of heretical baptisms is mentioned in them, and they can be used only in illustration and by analogy. “As for the decision of St. Cyprian's Council,” on which the Donatists laid great stress, “it has justly been overruled,” says St. Augustine, “by the other members of the Unity. Nor are we on that account better than the Bishop Cyprian, any more than we are better than the Apostle Peter, because we do not compel the Gentiles to judaize, as it is shown he did by the testimony and correction of the Apostle Paul.” And then follows the passage quoted by Dr. Milner, which in my translation will appear somewhat different from his; for which reason they are placed side by side.

Cap. xxxiii. 39. “Although, therefore, no example can certainly be adduced from the canonical Scriptures, yet the truth of the same Scriptures is held by us even in this matter, since we do that which hath pleased the universal Church—that Church which the authority of the Scriptures themselves commends: so that, since holy Scripture cannot err, whosoever fears to err in the obscurity of this question, let him consult concerning it that same Church which without any

Dr. Milner's Translation in Letter X.

“To attain to the truth of the Scriptures we must follow the sense of them entertained by the universal Church to which the Scriptures themselves bear testimony. True it is, the Scriptures themselves cannot deceive us; nevertheless, to prevent our being deceived in the question we examine by them, it is necessary we should advise with that

ambiguity holy Scripture demonstrates."—S. Augustine Op. ed. Benedict. Antwerp. Tom. ix. 277, 278.

2. The second quotation, according to Dr. Milner, is from some treatise in which is discussed "the unlawfulness of rebaptizing heretics;" and in the margin he refers to "De Util. Credend." Now I have read over repeatedly the nine folio pages of that treatise, and cannot find the two sentences he has given. Nor can I conceive how a work written to reclaim Honoratus from Manicheism, could have any thing in it about rebaptizing heretics. The Manichees, as St. Augustine himself tells us,* rejected baptism entirely. The question about heretical baptisms was with the Donatists. I cannot but believe, therefore, that Dr. Milner has been led into error by his second or third hand common-place books, the accuracy of which he did not verify. Both his other quotations are from the Donatist controversy, and relate to the same subject.

3. The last is, as he states, from the fifth book of the work on Baptism, (and as I add from the twenty-third chapter,) where he is commenting on St. Cyprian's Epistle ad Pompeium. That Epistle was written in opposition to the Epistle of Stephen the Bishop of Rome, who defended the baptism of heretics, and maintained on the ground of tradition that they should be reconciled to the Church by the laying on of hands only. St. Cyprian considers this as a reproach cast upon the Apostles, and denies that there could be any such tradition from them.† It is on this passage that St. Augustine comments in the words selected by Dr. Milner: "The Apostles, however, have given no precepts at all upon the subject; but that *custom* which was opposed to Cyprian must be believed to have taken its rise from their tradition, since there are many things which the universal Church holds, and which are on this account fully believed to be precepts from the Apostles, although they are not found written."‡

The reader will clearly see that *universal usage* is the

* Lib. de Hæres. xlv.

† S. Cypr. Op. Epist. lxxiv. ed. Bened. p. 138.

‡ S. Aug. Op. ut sup. tom. ix. col. 105.

fact on which St. Augustine grounded his belief as to Apostolical tradition; consequently nothing can come under this rule which is not of universal usage. There are two other passages in the same work much more to the point than this, Lib. ii. c. 7, and Lib. iv. c. 24, which I should be glad to quote, and which I may have occasion to quote hereafter, because they give what I think an excellent rule by which to judge what are or are not Apostolical traditions. I now hasten to the last of Dr. Milner's authorities previous to the fatal division of the Catholic Church after the middle of the fifth century.

Vincentius of Lerins in Gaul, who died in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian, not later than A. D. 450, wrote his *Commonitorium* or Memorial three years after the third General Council, or A. D. 434. It occupies 57 pages in 8vo, numbered in the edition of Baluzius, from p. 315 to p. 371. As Dr. Milner has treated this author much as he did Tertullian, putting extracts together which in the original work are wide apart, I shall mention the pages from which they are taken, to show how he has pressed Vincentius also into his service. The first is from p. 317, and is rather a statement, in Dr. Milner's own language, than a quotation. I shall give it literally from the author, and therefore omit it here. The other quotations are as follows; his translation and mine being placed opposite, and the essential points of difference being marked in mine by italics.

P. 328. *To preach any thing therefore to Catholic Christians but that which they have received, never was, never is, and never will be lawful; and to anathematize those who preach any thing which was not at first (semel) received, ever was, ever is, and ever shall be a duty.*

Dr. Milner.

It never was, is or will be lawful for Catholic Christians to teach any doctrine except that which they once received: and it ever was, is, and will be their duty to condemn those who do so.

P. 356. Here perhaps some one may ask, *whether the heretics use the testimony of the divine Scriptures?* Most assuredly they do, and that *vehemently*. For you may see them flying through all the books of the holy law, through Moses, the books of Kings, the Psalms, the Apostles, the Gospels,

Do the heretics then appeal to the Scriptures? Certainly they do, and this with the utmost confidence. You will see them running hastily through the different books of Holy Writ, these of Moses, Kings, the Psalms, the Gospels, &c. At home and abroad, in their discourses and

the Prophets. *For whether among friends or strangers, in private or in public, in conversations or in books, at convivial meetings or in the streets, they scarcely ever advance any thing of their own without seeking to shelter it under the words of Scripture. Read the treatises of Paul of Samosata, Priscillian, Eunomius, Jovinian, and the rest of the pests. You perceive an infinite heap of examples, scarcely a page which is not daubed and coloured with sentences of the Old and New Testament. But the more secretly they lurk under the shade of the divine law, so much the more are they to be guarded against and feared.* For they know that their stench can please no one if simply and nakedly exhaled, and therefore they sprinkle them with the fragrance of heavenly eloquence. For he who would quickly despise human error, may not easily condemn the divine oracles.

P. 358. "*And no marvel,*" he says, "*for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.*" (2 Cor. xi. 14.) It is not, therefore, a great thing if his ministers also are transformed as ministers of righteousness.

P. 359. *What will he do to miserable men, who attacked the Lord of Majesty himself with authorities from the Scriptures?*

P. 360. *But some one may say, If the devil and his disciples, of whom some are false apostles, others false prophets, and false teachers, and all utterly heretics, make use of the divine eloquence, declarations and promises, what shall they do who are Catholic men and sons of their mother the Church? In what way shall they distinguish truth from falsehood in the Holy Scriptures?* They must take es-

in their writings, they hardly produce a sentence which is not larded with the words of Scripture, &c.

But they are so much the more to be dreaded, as they conceal themselves under the veil of the divine laws.

Let us, however, remember that Satan transformed himself into an angel of light.

If he could turn the Scriptures against the Lord of Majesty, what use may he not make of them against us poor mortals!—If then Satan and his disciples, the heretics, are capable of thus perverting holy Scripture, how are Catholics, the children of the Church, to make use of them, so as to discern truth from falsehood?

They must carefully observe the

pecial care to do that which in the beginning of this Commonitory I wrote had been delivered to us by holy and learned men: *they must interpret the divine canon according to the traditions of the universal Church and the rules of Catholic doctrine; in which Catholic and Apostolic Church it is necessary that they should follow universality, antiquity and consent.*

rule laid down at the beginning of this treatise by the holy and learned men I referred to: *THEY ARE TO INTERPRET THE DIVINE TEXT ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.*

The objections I make to Dr. Milner's translation are,

First. The entire disregard to the train of argument used by his author.

Second. The perversion of his language wherever the special object had in view in quoting demanded it.

Third. The omission of passages which, if he really read the work, must have come under his observation, and which would defeat his whole design: and

Fourth. The dishonesty of deceiving such men as he had imagined for his Protestant correspondents.

1. The argument of Vincentius is much like that of Tertullian. There are two modes, he says, generally admitted by holy and learned men, of exposing the frauds and avoiding the snares of heretics; the one on the authority of the divine law, the other by the tradition of the Catholic Church. Then follows the first passage imperfectly quoted. "Here perhaps some one may ask, Since the canon of the Scriptures is perfect, and is in itself sufficient and more than sufficient for all things, what need is there that the authority of the ecclesiastical understanding should be joined to it? Because, he answers, all do not receive Holy Scripture in one and the same sense, by reason of its very profundity. Its language is by different persons differently interpreted; so that it seems as if almost as many senses can be extracted from it, as there are individuals. For Novatian explains it in one way, Photinus in another, Sabellius in a third, and Donatus in a fourth. Arrius, Eunomius and Macedonius differently; Apollinaris and Priscilianus differently; Jovinianus, Pelagius and Celestius, differently; and lastly, Nestorius, differently. And therefore it is for this reason very necessary, on account of so many tortuosities of such party-coloured error, that the clue of

Prophetic and Apostolic interpretation should be extended according to the rule of the Ecclesiastical and Catholic sense." Here Dr. Milner's first quotation ends. But the author proceeds as follows. "In the Catholic Church herself the greatest care is also to be observed that we should hold that which every where, which always, which by all has been believed: *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus, creditum est.*"

The last expression *ab omnibus* is elliptical; and the noun with which it agrees, must be inserted. Vincentius did not mean all *persons*; for the very disorder he proposed to cure, arose from the contradictory expositions of individuals. He meant therefore as Tertullian meant, to refer the exposition of Scripture to the various provincial churches, into which, according to the system of the Roman Empire, the Church Catholic was then distributed. I say *distributed* rather than *divided*, because there was then no breach of communion; and a Christian wherever he might be found, went to the next city as his abiding place, in all the enjoyment of the Church's charity.

Antiquity, universality and consent, being the three principles by which every doctrine derived from Scripture is to be tried, what, continues Vincentius, shall any Catholic Christian do, if some particle of the Church shall cut itself off from the communion of the universal faith? what, he answers, but that he should prefer the soundness of the universal body, to a pestiferous and corrupted member?—what if some new contagion should attempt to pollute not a small portion only, but even the whole Church? Then he will be cautious to adhere closely to antiquity, which cannot possibly be seduced by any fraud or novelty. What if even in that antiquity, some error of two or three men, or of one city, or even of one province, be detected? Then he will take especial care to prefer the decisions of the universal Church to the temerity and ignorance of a few, if there be any such universally and anciently.—What if any such arise where no such decision is to be found? Then he will labour to consult and interrogate the sentiments of the ancients, collated and compared among themselves—at least of those who existed as accredited masters, and remained steadfast, though at different times and in divers places, in the communion and faith of the one Catholic Church; and whatsoever

he shall know that not one or two only, but all equally, with one and the same consent, openly, frequently, perseveringly, have held, written, or taught, *that*, he understands is by him also to be unhesitatingly believed."

He then illustrates these remarks by the case of the Donatists, who overran a great part of Africa, and of the Arians, who partly by force, and partly by fraud, seduced almost all the Bishops of the Latin speech, and beginning from the imperial throne, shook almost the whole of the Roman Empire. Yet it was resisted by those who preferred to sacrifice themselves rather than the faith of the ancient Universality.

He next states the question concerning heretical baptisms, and the decision of Agrippinus the predecessor of Cyprian in the See of Carthage, as a novelty opposed to Catholic practice. And so he proceeds until he quotes and comments upon the expression of St. Paul, Gal. 1: 8. Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed, *anathema sit*. Though we and not I. That is, says Vincentius, *Though Peter or Andrew or John, or the whole Apostolic choir, should preach to you any other gospel, let him be accursed.* Tremendous distinction! But even this is not enough. *If an angel from heaven should preach any other gospel, let him be accursed.* Not that the holy angels can sin; but as if he had said, "Even if an impossibility were possible."—And then comes in (p. 323) the second in the series of Dr. Milner's patch-work! The object of his author was to prove from St. Paul's own words that *no force of authority, not even the highest, could ever sanction error*; and that it is our duty to renounce and abhor such authority, should it ever seek to sanction it. He therefore concludes this part of his argument in the following manner:

"These things being so, has any one so much hardihood, as to preach what has not been preached in the Church? or so much levity as to receive any thing which the Church has not received? He who was the chosen vessel, he who was the teacher of the Gentiles, he who was the clarion of the Apostles, he who was the herald of the earth, he who was the witness of the unutterable things in Heaven, cries, and cries again, and *among all, and always, and every where, by his EPISTLES cries*, that if any one preacheth a new doctrine, let him be accursed!"

P. 326.—“But some one will say, why then are certain excellent persons appointed in the church, often permitted by God to preach novelties to Catholics?” Vincentius commends the question, and proceeds for nearly eighteen pages to answer it; partly from the text, Deut. xiii. 1-3—the case of a prophet who entices to idolatry; and partly illustrations from Church history, considering among others, the examples of Origen and Tertullian. *The error of a great teacher is a trial from God to prove His people whether they truly love Him; and the trial is the greater in proportion to the learning of him who goes astray.* He then gives (p. 346) the following description of a good Catholic.

“He is a true and genuine Catholic who loves God’s truth,—the Church,—the body of Christ; who prefers nothing to divine religion or the Catholic faith; no authority, no love, no genius, no eloquence, no philosophy of any man; but despising all these things, and remaining fixed and stable in the faith, determines that by him must be held and believed only whatsoever he shall have known to be universally and anciently held by the Catholic Church; but whatsoever he shall have perceived to have been introduced that was new and unheard of by any one, in addition to, or against all holy persons, *that*, he is to understand, belongs not to religion, but is rather a trial. Especially will he so understand, when taught by the eloquence of the blessed Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xi. 19). *There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.*”

After commenting upon this text at some length, he adds (p. 348): “Reflecting again and again upon these things, I cannot sufficiently wonder at so great madness of certain men, so great impiety of the darkened mind, so great lust, in fine, of wandering, that they cannot be content with the rule of faith at first delivered, and anciently received, but seek from day to day novelty after novelty, and are always delighting themselves with adding to, changing, or taking away something from religion.” This leads to another division of his argument, proceeding from another question. And here it is very remarkable that Vincentius, under the term “*profectus*,” or advancement in religion, has *anticipated and guarded against the very fallacy of Mr. Newman’s doctrine of development.*

He thus states the question, p. 350: “But perhaps some one will say, Is no development of religion then to be permitted in the Church of Christ? Most evidently,” he answers, “the greatest development; but let it be truly a development, not a change.” He compares it to the organization of the human soul and body, both in individuals and in the Church. “It belongs to *development*, that every thing should be in itself enlarged. It belongs to *change*, that one thing should be turned into another.” If the human species be changed into some form which is not of its own nature, or if any thing be added to, or subtracted from the number of its members, the whole body must of necessity be severed, or become a monster or be weakened. So also must the doctrine of the Christian religion follow these laws of development, that by years it may be consolidated, be enlarged by time, and exalted by age, *provided it remain uncorrupted and undefiled*, and in the universal measures of its parts; and in all its members and peculiar senses, be full and perfect, so that it admits nothing further of change, and sustains no waste of property and no variety of definition.”

He then, almost prophetically, gives the reverse of the picture, if instead of just development, there be substituted the corruption of a fraudulent change. P. 353.—“If this license of impious fraud, be once permitted, I dread to speak of the danger which may ensue of the utter extermination of religion. For if any part of the Catholic doctrine be abandoned, first one also, and then another, and successively another and another, as if of moral right, will be abandoned. And thus the several parts being one by one repudiated, what else must follow at the last, but that all shall be equally repudiated? If, on the other hand, novelty be preferred to antiquity, foreign to domestic, and profane things be mingled with sacred, this custom must of necessity creep on and become general, so that nothing thereafter will be left in the Church untouched or unviolated, entire or immaculate, but thenceforward it becomes the stew of impious and base errors, where once was the sanctuary of chaste and uncorrupted truth.” May the divine compassion, he exclaims, avert such wickedness!—“The Church of Christ, the diligent and cautious guardian of the doctrines committed to her, changes nothing in them, diminishes nothing, and

adds nothing. It cuts off nothing necessary ; it adds nothing superfluous ; it loses not its own ; it usurps not what belongs to another."

Such, be it observed, was the language used between the third and fourth General Councils, before Latin was rent from Greek, and West from East, and the Catholic Church still meant what its name imports.

At p. 356, the author introduces a new branch of his subject, in his usual way of stating an objection. "Here, perhaps, some one may ask whether heretics use the testimony of the divine Scriptures. Most assuredly they do," he answers, "and that vehemently." And here comes in Dr. Milner's *patch the third*. He omits, however, the examples by which Vincentius defines his meaning, and then inserts *patch the fourth*. Again he omits the reason why they quoted the Bible, because without it they could not induce Christians to receive their impurities ; a reason which the author dwells upon for nearly two pages ; and then comes in from p. 358 *patch the fifth*, and from p. 359 *patch the sixth*. "But," says Vincentius, p. 360, "some one may say, If the devil and his disciples thus abuse Scriptures, what shall Catholics do?" And with this inquiry Dr. Milner most triumphantly introduces *patch the last*.

Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
Adsuitur panus.

2. This patching process is of itself an entire perversion of the author's meaning ; but there are verbal changes also which seem to me not without design. I refer particularly to those in the second and last extracts. My translation is literal ; and I have shown the connection of both passages with the context. In the former, Vincentius speaks of the *awful anathema due to those preachers* who teach a doctrine at variance with the faith once delivered to the saints ; in the latter he speaks of the *Holy Scriptures as the divine canon*, in the interpretation of which his three great rules of Catholic doctrine are to be followed, viz., universality, antiquity, and consent. Would such ideas ever be conveyed to any mind by Dr. Milner's extracts ?

3. My third objection is to his omissions, which in the foregoing analysis I have endeavoured faithfully to supply. Let the reader carefully examine them, and then ask himself,

Could Dr. Milner, if he really had read his author, have honestly used such language as the following : "It seems doing an injury to St. Vincent of Lerins—to quote a part of his celebrated commonitorium!"

4. And therefore I object, in the fourth place, to the dishonesty of deceiving ignorant persons, such as he has chosen for his correspondents. If he contented himself with extracts made by some other person, where was his learning ? If he read his author, and did not perceive the tendency of his argument, where was his perspicacity ? If he did perceive it, and yet quoted Vincentius to support his doctrine of "*unwritten tradition*," where was his honesty ? How much more manly was it in the subtle-minded and learned Mr. Newman, to abandon what he calls "the dictum of Vincentius," as utterly unmanageable and fatal to his cause ! Mr. Newman's Essay on Development has constituted an epoch in the controversy. It is a total surrender of antiquity, universality and consent. The questions in controversy between the English and the Roman communions, are all of later origin than the fifth century.

Leaving Dr. Milner to skirmish with the few stragglers from English orthodoxy, such as Archdeacon Blackburn, and Bishops Hoadly and Watson ; (if he captures them, I have no sort of objection ;) leaving him also to pervert the language of Bishop Porteus, a prelate worthy of Apostolic times ; I proceed to redeem a pledge given early in this work, on the subject of divine and apostolical Traditions. It was then observed (Chap. II. Tradition, p. 29) that the very examples given by Bellarmine to illustrate what he meant by such traditions, "are all admitted in our communion, though, *as we shall soon see*, for a different reason." That reason I proceed now to give.

To any who diligently and understandingly searches the Scriptures, and knows how they have been universally, anciently and consentingly interpreted, the observance of the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath, will be a matter of conscientious and dutiful obligation. Though the primæval Sabbath was the seventh day from the beginning of creation, yet to man, the last formed of the Creator's works, it was the first. As soon as he became a living soul, he entered on his holy Sabbath. When the Israelites were freed

from Egyptian bondage by the blood of the Lamb, they immediately entered on their rest in the wilderness. When, forty years after, they crossed the Jordan, the first day of their arrival in the land of Canaan, was the Sabbath.* At the new creation, the resurrection from the dead, the glorified man Christ Jesus, the second Adam, entered also into his Sabbath. The observance of that day may well be considered as among "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," in which our Lord instructed his Apostles;† for we find incidentally mentioned in St. Luke's narrative of the early planting of the church and elsewhere, that the disciples assembled together for prayer and the celebration of the Eucharist on the first day of the week.‡ At the close of the first century, the aged Apostle St. John says that he "was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,"§ and forty years after, Justin Martyr speaks of Sunday as being thus observed by all Christians.¶ Not a single church can be found, from the very beginning, which had a different practice. We say, therefore, that "it is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time," the first day of the week, Sunday, or the Lord's day, hath been always, every where, and by all, observed as the Christian Sabbath.

We say the same with regard to the matter and form of the sacraments. Both in baptism and in the Lord's Supper, the matter and form are expressly enjoined by our blessed Saviour. Without water, administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, there can be no valid baptism. Without bread and wine, and the sacramental words and actions instituted by our Lord, there can be no valid Eucharist.

Infant baptism depends not upon unwritten tradition, but upon the Holy Scriptures as interpreted and practised upon from the Apostles' times. Baptism was in itself no new thing. It certainly dates as far back as the separation of the sons of Jacob from the other circumcised descendants of Abraham, as God's special people. When all were baptized

* The first Passover, B. C. 1504, and the Crossing of the Jordan, B. C. 1464, both took place on Friday. The reader may calculate and see the truth of these computations by means of the Tables in my "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church."

† Acts i. 3.

‡ Rev. i. 10.

§ Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

¶ Apol. i. 67, Ed. Bened. p. 83.

into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, the infants among them were baptized.* When our Lord commissioned his apostles, to baptize all nations, he did not except infants; which he would have done, if he had so intended.† When St. Peter proclaimed, on the day of Pentecost, the great charter of human salvation to the penitent Jews, he assured them that the promise was not only to them, but to their children, and to all that are afar off, etc.‡ "If," says St. Chrysostom, "to those that are afar off, how much more to them that are nigh?"§ Neither St. Peter, nor any of the Apostles were convinced that "to the Gentiles repentance was granted unto life" until after the baptism of Cornelius.|| The expressions therefore on the day of Pentecost had reference more immediately to the Jews. St. Paul expressly asserts that Baptism is the Christian circumcision;¶ and no valid reason can be assigned why circumcision should have been administered to infants, and baptism should not, unless it had been expressly forbidden. That this interpretation of Scripture is correct we have the testimony required by the rule of Vincentius, universality, antiquity, and consent. And it is to this subject that St. Augustine applies the rule which I mentioned, while considering his testimony: "That which the universal Church holds, and which has not been instituted by Councils but has always been retained, is most rightly believed to have been delivered by no other than Apostolic authority."***

As to the Lenten fast and the Ember days at the four seasons, we observe and enjoin them, as ancient and profitable institutions, but not as coming within St. Augustine's rule, much less "as an article of faith" or as "necessary to salvation."††

The yearly observance of the festival of Easter, and the preceding fast of our Lord's passion, we have reason to believe was continued from the Apostles' time. The agitations

* 1 Cor. x. 2.

† St. Matt. xxviii. 19.

‡ Acts ii. 39.

§ Act. Apost. Hom. vii. Ed. Bened. Tom. ix. 56.

|| Acts xi. 1-18.

¶ Col. ii. 11, 12.

*** Quod universa tenet Ecclesia nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum, rectissime creditur.—S. Aug. De Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. iv. c. 24. ed. Bened. Antwerp, tom. ix. col. 94.

†† Art. VI.

of the quartodeciman controversy in the early church, arising from the single point, whether the days of the week or the days of the lunar month were to regulate the observance, afford ample proof that the observance itself was universal. But in the meagre account which Eusebius gives of this controversy* after the tenth year of Commodus, A. D. 189, learned men are not yet agreed whether "the fast of forty," mentioned by Irenæus, was a fast for forty days or forty hours. "Some," says that ancient writer, "suppose that they ought to fast one day, others, two, others, more; and others"——. Here commences the difficulty, all depending on the punctuation. Christopherson and Sir Henry Savile, supported by Ruffinus, read "and others, forty," i. e. forty days. But, says Valesius, all our manuscripts are opposed to this reading, and point the passage so as to be rendered thus: "Others measure their day as forty diurnal and nocturnal hours."† This very variety shows that the Liturgical observance was not so minutely regulated by Apostolic practice.

The observance of the Ember days called the fasts of the Four Seasons, was of much later date. At least, there is no evidence by which we can trace it to Apostolic times.

While on the subject, I may as well mention the Wednesday, Fridays, and Saturdays, and the Rogation-days. The Wednesday and Friday fasts in every week of the year, the one on the day in which our Lord was betrayed, the other on that in which he was crucified for the sins of men, are certainly of great antiquity, being mentioned incidentally as practices of the Church, by Clemens Alexandrinus of the Greeks, and Tertullian of the Latins.‡ The fast of Saturday, substituted for that of Wednesday by the Latin Church, seems to have been introduced merely in opposition to the Jewish Sabbath. Our reformers did not renew the Wednesday fast, nor continue that of Saturday, excepting as vigils. The Rogation-days were, as Bingham observes, begun in France about the middle of the fifth century.§ Our churches, therefore, receive and sanction these ecclesiastical customs

* E. H. lib. v. c. 23-25.

† Eus. E. H. Ed. Reading, pp. 246-7, and note 6.

‡ Clem. Alex. ed. Potter. tom. ii. p. 877. Tert. de Jejuniis, c. 14.

§ Ant. book xxi. c. 2, § 8.

of various degrees of antiquity on the ground of profitable usage, not of divine appointment. We claim the right, under the XXth and XXXIVth articles, of doing what the Latin Church hath done—continuing, abolishing or changing such observances, according as we find them profitable or unprofitable to the souls of men. We revere antiquity, universality, and consent; but, with Vincent of Lerins, we will ever pronounce our solemn anathema against "any thing that is contrary to God's word written." It is for this reason that we think it unlawful to bind on men's consciences any particular mode of fasting or abstinence. The very use of fasting consists in its freedom. It must be the voluntary oblation of every devout penitent, who knows the plague of his own heart, and his own besetting sins. When we fast, it is not that we may appear unto men to fast, but unto our Father which seeth in secret.

I have thus finished my review of the first part of Dr. Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*. It has been occupied in considering the fundamental principles, on which the English is at variance with the Roman Communion. These fundamentals are essential to decide the important questions respecting the Catholic Church, which belong to the second and third parts of Dr. Milner's work. To these I shall proceed in the second part of my Reply.

of the quartodeciman controversy in the early church, arising from the single point, whether the days of the week or the days of the lunar month were to regulate the observance, afford ample proof that the observance itself was universal. But in the meagre account which Eusebius gives of this controversy * after the tenth year of Commodus, A. D. 189, learned men are not yet agreed whether "the fast of forty," mentioned by Irenæus, was a fast for forty days or forty hours. "Some," says that ancient writer, "suppose that they ought to fast one day, others, two, others, more; and others" —. Here commences the difficulty, all depending on the punctuation. Christopherson and Sir Henry Savile, supported by Rufinus, read "and others, forty," i. e. forty days. But, says Valesius, all our manuscripts are opposed to this reading, and point the passage so as to be rendered thus: "Others measure their day as forty diurnal and nocturnal hours." † This very variety shows that the Liturgical observance was not so minutely regulated by Apostolic practice.

The observance of the Ember days called the fasts of the Four Seasons, was of much later date. At least, there is no evidence by which we can trace it to Apostolic times.

While on the subject, I may as well mention the Wednesday, Fridays, and Saturdays, and the Rogation-days. The Wednesday and Friday fasts in every week of the year, the one on the day in which our Lord was betrayed, the other on that in which he was crucified for the sins of men, are certainly of great antiquity, being mentioned incidentally as practices of the Church, by Clemens Alexandrinus of the Greeks, and Tertullian of the Latins. ‡ The fast of Saturday, substituted for that of Wednesday by the Latin Church, seems to have been introduced merely in opposition to the Jewish Sabbath. Our reformers did not renew the Wednesday fast, nor continue that of Saturday, excepting as vigils. The Rogation-days were, as Bingham observes, begun in France about the middle of the fifth century. § Our churches, therefore, receive and sanction these ecclesiastical customs

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PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

It is now more than twenty-five years since I first read Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy." It was then read carefully, but without other answer than my own feeble resources could supply. Neither of Dr. Grier's answers, the Reply, or the Defence of that Reply, had been republished in this country ; and I had no English friend who would care to send them to me. I have subsequently seen much of the world, and have had much experience of men and things ; and yet I do assure the reader of these pages that on the re-perusal of Dr. Milner's work, I am utterly amazed ! I say, that I am utterly amazed : first, that any could then, or can now, be found, among the candid, and learned, and virtuous minds which have adorned, or do still adorn, the Roman Communion, capable of recommending his work, as an able defence of their cause ; and secondly, at the triple brass, the matchless effrontery, of Dr. Milner, in seeking so to impose upon the ignorance or the implicit and unscrutinizing prejudices of his readers. For, not to dwell upon what I have already mentioned, his quiet assumption of the very point at issue concerning the Catholic Church—(this is so common as hardly to excite surprise)—observe, I pray you, the following extract from his fifteenth letter : " St. Austin reckons up *ninety* HERESIES *which had* PROTESTED *against the church before his time*, that is, during the first four hundred years of her existence ; and ecclesiastical writers have counted about the same number, who rose up since that period, down to the era of *Luther's* PROTESTATION,

which took place early in the sixteenth century; whereas, from the last mentioned era to the end of the same century, Staphylus and Cardinal Hosius enumerated *two hundred and seventy different sects of Protestants*; and alas! how have PROTESTANT SECTS, beyond reckoning and description, multiplied during the last two hundred years! Thus has the observation of the above cited holy father" (St. Austin or Augustine) "been verified in modern, no less than it was in former ages, where he exclaims: 'Into how many morsels have those sects been broken who have divided themselves from the unity of the Church!'" And here Dr. Milner quotes in the margin, "St. Aug. contra Petolian (*sic*)."
The three books against Petilianus occupy *forty-five closely printed folio pages*!—But, as the reader has become familiar with his loose way of quotation, we will let that pass. St. Augustine, he says, reckons up *ninety Protestant sects* before his time! Good, innocent, simple-minded, modest Dr. Milner! How pleasant the insinuation, that the Roman Communion is now, what the Church was in St. Augustine's time! And that all Protestants are now, what the ninety sorts of heretics then were! Pity to disturb so delightful a dream, by the stubborn fact that, in St. Augustine's time, the word "*Catholic*" denoted *those who held the Nicene faith*, and "*Heretic*" included *all who denied that faith*! The edict of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, which so defines these terms, was dated Feb. 27, A. D. 380, the year before the Second General Council, and about twenty years before the work against Petilianus was written!

If Dr. Milner was not ashamed of such despicable chicanery, I cannot but marvel that the dignified members of his communion can stoop to give their imprimatur to such artifice. I can well imagine, that persons accustomed to look at objects within a narrow sphere, and in one point of view only, may honestly contract prejudices, which in after life they cannot overcome; but still, it is a mystery, that any power can so fetter men, who are confessedly sincere, and virtuous, and well-informed. Alas! for poor human nature! For it must be resolved into the consequences of the Fall; and as we are all involved in that ruin, from which nothing but the grace of God in Christ can release us, let us not be high-minded but fear.

We will not, and cannot, be drawn from our vantage ground, by the wily manœuvres of Dr. Milner. He knew, and his brethren now cannot but know, that there is no debate between us on the terms of the ancient creeds. The Seventh Article of the Synod of London in 1552, the same with the Eighth Article of 1562, says: "The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thorowly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."*

Thus far therefore *our faith* is that of the *Catholic Church at the end of the first four general Councils*. From this vantage ground, I repeat, we cannot and will not be driven; and it is an unfair use of terms to deny us the name of Catholic, or to represent the debate between the English and the Roman Communions, as if *we* were *heretics*, and *they* the *one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*. It was in the highest degree dishonest, and it cannot but move our indignation, that Dr. Milner should so seek to impose upon the ignorant members of either communion. Since the fourth General Council, the state of the Church has been very materially altered. They who equally maintain the great principles of the Ancient Creeds, are now riven into separate Communions. The question is not whether there *ought* to be *unity*, but *who has violated* the unity? The question is not whether *holiness* should be the badge of our Christian profession, but *which of the contending parties is the least unholy*? The question is not whether we *should be* Catholic and Apostolic, but *who are* the Catholic, *who are* the Apostolic? On these points we are ready to join issue. Our object is to gather together in one, the scattered and divided members of Christ's fold; to perfect holiness on Earth, that we may enjoy it in Heaven; to render the Church truly Catholic, as it once was; and, for that purpose, to restore the blessed Communion of Apostolic fellowship. "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ."†

* Sparrow's Collection, p. 42; comp. with p. 93.

† 1 John i. 3.

We are willing to believe, that there are many wise and virtuous members of the Roman Communion, who earnestly desire the very same things; but unhappily Rome has bound herself under the curse of Infalibility; and to be consistent, she has become the slave of her own system, and must never abandon what she has once adopted. For this reason we despair of her reformation, and turn to the Greek, the Armenian, and the Syrian, rather than to the Latin. They, like ourselves, retain the Nicene faith, and therefore come within the definition of the rescript of Theodosius. That rescript, to which allusion has several times been made, shall now be inserted entire from the Theodosian Code.

“The Edict of THEODOSIUS THE GREAT concerning the
Catholic faith.

“The Edict of the three Emperors and Augusti, Gratian Valentinian and Theodosius, to the people of the City of Constantinople. We will that all people whom the moderation of our clemency governs should abide in that religion which, that the divine Apostle Peter delivered to the Romans, the religion proclaimed continually from him, even to the present time, declares; which it is evident, the Pontiff Damasus follows, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of Apostolic sanctity, *that according to the Apostolic discipline, and the Evangelical doctrine, we should believe the one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost in majesty co-equal and in the Holy Trinity.* We order them, following this law, to embrace the name of CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS; but adjudging all others to bear the infamy of heretical doctrine, as dementate and insane, and their conventicles not to take the name of Churches, but that they be punished, first by the Divine vengeance, and afterwards by that of our pleasure, which we, according to the Divine will, shall impose. Given on the third day before the kalends of March [Febr. 27th], at Thessalonica, in the Consulship of the Augusti, Gratian V. and Theodosius I.” [A. D. 380.]

To understand the language of this Edict, it must be remembered that for forty years, under the favour of the Emperors Constantius and Valens, the Arians had kept possession of the Churches of Constantinople. It must also be remem-

bered, that in the following year [A. D. 381] the second General Council assembled at Constantinople; and that Nectarius, a layman chosen by the Emperor Theodosius, was then and there consecrated as Bishop of the vacant see. Constantinople was then elevated to rank *before* Alexandria, which had hitherto been the *second* city of the Empire, and the third Canon of the Council provided, that the new Bishop of Constantinople should have precedence after the Bishop of Rome, *because that City was new Rome.* This Canon was afterwards more fully established and explained by the twenty-eighth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon [A. D. 451]; in which it was said that “the Fathers” assembled in the second general Council “awarded equal privileges with ancient Imperial Rome, to the most holy see of New Rome, rightly judging, that a city honoured with Empire and a Senate, and enjoying equal privileges with ancient Imperial Rome, should also be as exalted as that city in ecclesiastical matters, ranking next to it.” The Edict of Theodosius, having been published one year *before* the elevation of Constantinople, named the Bishop of *Alexandria immediately after* the Bishop of *Rome*; but while it spoke of *Damasus* who was then living, for he did not die till A. D. 384, it selected *Peter*, who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria, nearly eighty years earlier, *before the Arian heresy existed.* The subsequent insertion of Constantinople, between Alexandria and Rome, occasioned the heart-burnings which led to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople, finally broke out into a permanent schism, and shattered those who had till that time been called Catholics, to the four winds of heaven. If the Greeks, the Armenians, or the Syrians, have, in any measure, departed from the primitive purity of the Catholic Church, they are not, at least, like the Latins, so headstrong in error as to be incapable of reform.—To them, therefore, do we look, as to Christians of Apostolic descent, whose fine gold may be somewhat dimmed by the calamities they have long suffered, but who have *within themselves that organic power*, which, by impulses derived from us, may recover its pristine vigour, and restore them to their former brilliancy and beauty. The only tenable ground, in the present condition of the Catholic Church, is that which we hold, by retreating to the first four General

Councils as the time when Catholic faith and order were still "whole and undefiled."

This being the true issue, I am relieved in great measure from all consideration of Dr. Milner's second part, from the thirteenth to the thirtieth letters inclusive. To correct all his unfair quotations from English writers; to expose his artful attempts to fasten upon the Church of England the recreant conduct of base and degenerate sons; would be an almost endless, and certainly a very unprofitable and loathsome task. I have already shown his dishonesty, or his ignorance, in the quotations he has pretended to make from the writers of the early church. Is not this enough to put my readers on their guard against his treatment of modern authors? What if he succeeds in showing, that such men as Hoadly and Blackburn were suffered, in a lax and downward age, to hold their preferments? What does this prove, but that tares were sown in the night time, while men slept, and that, for fear of rooting up the good grain, they were suffered to remain until the harvest? I am no apologist for laxity of discipline; and I am ready to admit, that we are in danger of erring on the side of indulgence. But this error is better than the opposite one of persecution. The brave Briton said of the Roman legions, "*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*" They lay waste and call it peace!* Such is the boasted unity and tranquillity of the Roman Communion!

CHAPTER II.

THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

In his XVIth letter on Catholic Unity, Dr. Milner maintains, "as a notorious fact, that this original and great church is, and ever has been, strictly one . . . in her faith and terms of communion. The *same* creeds, namely, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV., drawn up in conformity

* Tac., Agricola, xxx.

with the definitions of the Council of Trent, are every where recited and professed to the strict letter *throughout the four quarters of the globe*, from Ireland to Chili, and from Canada to India." This braying of trumpets may do admirably well with people who are influenced more by sound than sense; but how does he prove it? Go, he says, to the Royal Exchange (!) and talk with intelligent Catholic merchants from the several countries in question. Interrogate "the poor illiterate Irish, and other Catholic foreigners who traverse the country in various directions." This last expression, we suppose is by euphony for *Catholic peddlers*; as the Furies were called by the Greeks, the venerable goddesses. All these, says Dr. Milner, "if properly interrogated, will confess their belief in one comprehensive article; namely this, *I believe whatever the holy Catholic Church believes and teaches.*" Yes: no doubt of it! Once acknowledge that the Roman Communion is the holy Catholic Church, and the Irishers, and the peddlers, and the East-Indians, brought up under the Inquisition at Goa, and the Chilians, (and why not also the Peruvians and Mexicans,) will imitate the cautious monk, who could not be made to utter heresy, by all the arts of the tempter! "What do you believe?" said Satan. "What the Church believes," replied the Monk. "And what does the Church believe?" rejoined Satan. "What I believe," said the Monk.

Do you laugh, or do you weep at such folly? It has been seen in the preceding chapter, that the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, contain the faith of the Catholic Church for the first five centuries. It is precisely "*the Creed of Pope Pius IV., drawn up in conformity with the definitions of the Council of Trent,*" which has raised the wall of separation between us and the Roman Communion.

As the Bull of that Pope, by which was established what is called his Creed, may not be easily accessible to many of my readers, I think it important to give them here a summary of its contents.

Its title is, "concerning the form of the oath to be taken as to the profession of faith;" and it begins, by reciting the substance of the decree in the twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent, which requires all beneficed persons, hav-

ing the cure of souls, to make such public profession, promising and swearing to remain in permanent obedience to the Roman Church. It includes all the regular and military orders, and in fact every one who, in an official capacity, can influence the popular belief. The Oath begins as follows: "I, N, with firm faith, believe and profess, all and singular, whatsoever is contained in the symbol of faith used by the Holy Roman Church." It then recites the Nicene Creed; after which, *assuming* that the "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" of that creed, means exclusively the Holy Roman Church and those only who are in her communion, it proceeds thus:

1. "I most firmly admit and embrace the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the said Church.

2. "I admit also Holy Scripture, according to that sense which holy Mother Church, to whom it appertains to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, hath holden and stills holds; nor will I ever receive and interpret them otherwise, than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

3. "I profess, likewise, that there are truly and properly seven Sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation and Orders, cannot be repeated without sacrilege. I receive also and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

4. "I embrace and receive all things and every thing (*omnia et singula*) which have been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

5. "I equally profess, that in the mass is offered unto God a true proper and propitiatory sacrifice, for the living and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is really, truly, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and, that a conversion is made of the whole

substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

6. "I confess also, that under one kind only, is received the whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament.

7. "I constantly maintain, that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted (*juvari*) by the prayers (*suffragiis*) of the faithful.

8. "Likewise, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, are to be venerated and invoked; and that they offer prayers for us to God; and that their relics are to be venerated.

9. "I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the ever-virgin mother-of-God, as also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration must be given to them.

10. "I affirm also, that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ in his Church; and that the use of them is very salutary to Christian people.

11. "I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome, to be the mother, and mistress of all Churches; and I promise, and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, successor of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, and the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ.

12. "I do, likewise, without doubt, receive all other things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons, and Œcumenical Councils, and especially, by the holy Council of Trent; and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I do in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize.

"This true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved, which at this present time I voluntarily profess and truly hold, I, the aforesaid N, do promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to retain and profess (by God's help) entire and inviolate to the last breath of my life; and I will take care, as far as in me lies, that the same be holden, taught, and preached by all who are subject to my control, or who, by virtue of my office, shall appertain to my charge.

"So help me God, and these the Holy Gospels of God."

This oath was published at Rome, on the 13th of November, A. D. 1564; and has now, for nearly three hundred

years, been exacted with the most unrelenting severity. All comment upon it would be superfluous. It stands before my readers in all its naked horror. Oh! how burthened is every soul which lies crushed under its scorching and withering weight! What gratitude do not we owe to God's mercies, that the English reformation began in 1534, and that the two councils of London, of 1552 and 1562, furnished us with articles, which will ever be a standing bulwark against its tyranny!

Of the twelve articles into which the Creed of Pope Pius IV. is resolved, the first two have been sufficiently considered. The remaining ten require to be examined, and the first of these is the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, to which we shall now proceed.

CHAPTER III.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

THE decree concerning the Sacraments, was passed at the seventh session of the Council of Trent, on the third of March, A. D. 1547; and the first and fourth Canons are as follows:

1. "If any shall say that the Sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord; or that they are more, or fewer than seven, namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven, is not truly and properly a sacrament, *let him be accursed.*

4. "If any one shall say, that the Sacraments of the new law are not necessary to salvation, but superfluous; and that none can obtain the grace of justification from God, without them, or the vow of them (*eorum voto*), by faith alone, although all are not necessary to every one (*omnia singulis*), *let him be accursed.*"

The last expression, *non omnia singulis*, applies only to Orders and Matrimony; and, with this exception, there is

bound upon men's consciences, with the most dreadfully frivolous minuteness, the belief of seven sacraments, neither more nor less, as all instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *necessary to our justification from God, and our eternal salvation!*

The Latin word *sacramentum*, the source of the English, sacrament, denoted a solemn pledge, and a solemn oath. In the latter sense, it meant especially the oath taken by soldiers to serve under their general; and Herodian call it τῆς Πρωμυλων ἀρχῆς σπυρνὸν μυστήριον, the awful *mystery* of Roman domination.* The etymon of this Greek word is somewhat uncertain. Suidas derives it from μένν το στόμα, to shut the mouth; the moderns, from a Hebrew word which signifies to conceal. But all agree that it means a *secret*,—something recondite, whether still hidden, or to some extent revealed. In this double signification, then, of an *oath* and a *secret*, must the word sacrament be understood; the Greek writers inclining to the sense of *secret*, because they use the word "mystery;" the Latin writers to that of an *oath* or *pledge of fidelity*, because they use the word *sacramentum*. In the twenty-six passages of the New Testament in which the word μυστήριον, mystery, is found, the ancient Latin version, as given by Sabatier, renders it thirteen times by *sacramentum*, and thirteen times uses the same word *mysterium*. In one manuscript, copied by Bianchini, St. Matt. xiii. 11, "to know the mysteries," is rendered *scire arcana*, to know the secrets.† St. Jerome, in his translation, uses the word "*mysterium*" eighteen times; and in Colos. i. 27, where the ancient version reads "divitias gloriæ *mysterii* Dei inter gentes" the riches of the glory of the *mystery* of God among the Gentiles, he translates, "divitias gloriæ *sacramenti* hujus," the riches of the glory of this *sacrament*. In Rom. xvi. 25, on the other hand, where the ancient version reads, "*revelationem sacramenti*," he reads, as in our translation, "*revelationem mysterii*,"—the revelation of the *mystery*. In seven places only, do the two versions agree in using the word *sacramentum*; and one of these is Rev. xvii. 7, "I will tell thee the *sacrament* of the woman and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns."

* Herod. lib. viii. 7, 8. Ap. Casaubon, Exercitat. xvi. 43.

† Evang. Quadr. tom. i. xcviij

The Rhemish Translation, which follows that of St. Jerome as its shadow, reading *sacrament*, where that reads *sacramentum*, and *mysterie* where that reads *mysterium*, has, in this last text, *departed from its prototype*, and reads, "I will tel thee the *mysterie* of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heades, and the ten hornes." For what reason it has done this, Dr. Milner might doubtless have told, and his brethren could now tell; but what right had the Jesuits of Rheims, in their English translation, so to misrepresent that old and Vulgate edition, which the Council of Trent declared to be authentic and required, under the penalty of a curse, to 'be used in all public readings, disputations, preachings, and expositions! It is to be hoped that Mr. Newman, in his review of their version, will correct their audacity, and restore the *authentic* "sacrament!"

The word *mystery*, it has been observed, signifies a *secret*, which may or may not be revealed. In this sense, it is used in the New Testament. To the extent of the revelation, it is a mystery made known; beyond that extent, it is still hidden. The word of God reveals a fact; but for the trial of our faith, does not reveal the *reason* of that fact, or the *mode* of its *operation*. The fact, for instance, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, was revealed by the preaching of the Gospel. It was the purpose of God, from the beginning of the world; but had been kept *secret* from men, having been so obscurely predicted in "the Scriptures of the prophets," that it was not understood till the coming of Christ. That event, having explained the prophets, all men might now see, by comparing the facts and predictions together, that such was the original design of the Almighty, and thus, the mystery being "made known to all nations," might produce in them "the obedience of faith." * The *fact* of the reconciliation with God, through Jesus Christ, being made known, is no longer a *mystery*; but it is the simple *fact* only which has been revealed. When we begin to inquire, *why* and *how* the death of Christ could produce so powerful an effect, we are immediately involved in the obscurity of those secret things which belong unto the Lord our God. "A mystery" says St. Chrysostom, "is not to be

* Rom. xvi. 25, 26, comp. with 1 Cor. ii. 7, iv. 1, Ephes. i. 9, &c.

proved or demonstrated; but what it is, that alone is declared to us." *

Eph. v. 32: "This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." It appears to have been a received interpretation in the Jewish Church, that the taking of the woman from the side of the man, was intended to represent the union of the most High God with his people; which is commonly represented, in the prophetic writings, under the metaphor of a marriage. † What the Jews thus applied to the most High God the Apostle here affirms concerning Christ; that the original institution of marriage, and the peculiar mode of forming the first woman, was intended by God to denote the formation of the Church, and her union with Christ her head. Adam is expressly called‡ "a type of him who was to come;" and Christ§ "the last Adam." The Catholic Church is called|| "the body of Christ;" and in allusion to the formation of Eve, the several members of the Church are said to be "members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones." ¶ Eve was the mother of all living, in the natural sense; the Church, the mother of all living, in the spiritual sense. As Eve was formed of a rib taken out of Adam's body during his deep sleep, so was the Church formed from the broken body of the second Adam, during his deep sleep, which began upon the cross. "The Son of God," says Theophylact, "left his Father, not by a change of place, but by condescending to become incarnate, and came unto his bride with whom he became one Spirit." "The great Apostle," says St. Gregory Nyssen, "calls the union of two, in the communion of one body, the great mystery of the union of Christ with the Church." *** Now, that the creation and union of Adam and Eve were *intended*, in the design of God, to *point out the union of Christ and the Church*, was a *fact*, which no one could know till it was revealed. It was a great mystery, hidden from men till Christ had come; and we should have no right to make this application of that passage of Genesis, unless the Apostle had been commissioned to

* In Epist. ad Cor. Hom. 7, § 1.

† See Grotius and Hammond in loco. ‡ Rom. v. 14.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

|| Ephes. i. 23.

¶ Ephes. v. 30.

*** See Suicer's Thesaurus, voce *μυστήριον*, for these and other quotations.

reveal it. But is not the union of Christ with his Church still mysterious, in every respect, excepting the bare fact? We know that Christ nourisheth and cherisheth the Church, by the means of grace which he hath given to her. But the various methods by which his mighty operations are conducted, that He may present her to himself, at the last day, without spot or wrinkle, are now concealed from the view of sense; and we must be cautious not to attempt to explain what will continue to be concealed till faith is lost in vision.

Rev. xvii. 5: "And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.—7. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee *the mystery of the woman* and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns." In both verses the ancient Latin version reads, for mystery, *sacramentum*. St. Jerome's version has, v. 5, *mysterium*, and v. 7, *sacramentum*. It appears from the prophets, especially Ezekiel and Hosea, that a harlot was the type of an apostate and idolatrous Church; but as the nation of Israel was no longer the church of the Lord, St. John must have perceived that "the mother of harlots meant *some future Christian Church* which would become corrupt. As the church of Israel had suffered captivity in *Babylon* the seat of pagan idolatry, the name *Babylon* became a symbol of this idolatrous Church, a mystery or symbolic representation. This mystery excited the astonishment of St. John; upon which the Angel so far explained it, as to show that it meant *Rome*, and *the Church of Rome*. This sense of the mystery is acknowledged by Bossuet, only that he applies it to *Rome Pagan*, and not to *Rome Christian*; for he says, "Sous le nom de la Prostituée c'est Babylonne, et sous le nom de Babylonne c'est Rome, c'est le sens le plus naturel.—On voit donc pourquoy Saint Jean represente Rome sous le nom de Babylon dont elle avoit tous les caractères, dominante comme elle, comme elle pleine d'idoles, et de divinations, et persecutrice des Saints qu'elle tenoit captifs."* I quote at second hand and therefore quote the original words, because I have here followed Dr. Milner's usual practice, in quoting

* Bossuet, as quoted by Lowman, p. 252, note d.

a book I have never read. It may be that Lowman took only so much of Bossuet as suited his purpose. For this I will not answer; but it is clear that Bossuet understood, as we understand, *the fact revealed*, that the beast with seven heads and ten horns, meant Rome. This passage may properly be compared with what St. Paul says, 2 Thess. ii. 7, 8, of the *mystery of iniquity*, which was even then working, but was let or hindered, or restrained by some one "until he be taken out of the way." The active existence of the mystery was affirmed, but was not then revealed, and its nature could not be known till the hinderance by which it was checked, should be removed. This hindrance the Fathers with great unanimity believed to be the Roman Empire; the western branch of which was destroyed by Odoacer, A. D. 476, and the eastern branch, by Mahomet II., A. D. 1453.

These examples are sufficient to show, how the word translated mystery or sacrament was used by the inspired writers of the New Testament. And from that, as its proper fountain, flowed the usage of the early Ecclesiastical writers. They, full of faith, with fervent affections, and vivid imaginations, saw Christ every where. With them, as in the New Testament, the word mystery signified, as clearly and briefly expressed by Schleusner, "any thing or doctrine hidden, and formerly or still unknown by men; every thing new and unheard of, or so profound, obscure and sublime that it cannot be easily perceived or understood, or is *evidently superior to human comprehension*." In the Gospels, the parables are called *mysteries* or *secrets*, because, under a simple and perfectly intelligible story, was couched a more secret and recondite application. A parable was an allegory; a representation of *one* thing intended to excite the idea of *another*; the *immediate* representation, a narrative; the *ultimate* representation, some moral truth.

From this use of the term "mystery" to denote an allegorical narrative, the transition was easy and natural to symbolical representations. In Rev. i. 20, the *mystery*, or *symbolical representation* of the seven candlesticks, denoted the seven churches of Asia; and the seven stars, the seven Angels or Bishops, who presided over them. So, as we have seen, Rev. xvii. 5, 7, the mystery, or symbolical representation of a woman carried on a beast, denoted a church having spiritual and temporal dominion over the Roman Empire.

In a similar sense, the ancient Christian writers called Baptism and the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, mysteries. The death of Christ is represented in the New Testament, as the meritorious cause of the forgiveness of our sins, and the sanctification of our nature. We are therefore, figuratively, said to be washed by him from our sins in his own blood,* The rite, therefore, by which we are made partakers of his death† is that of washing with water, a mystery, or symbolic representation, in which, under the outward and visible sign of water, is meant the inward and spiritual grace purchased for us by the death of our Redeemer. In like manner, the Lord's Supper is a mystery, or symbolical representation, in which under the outward and visible sign of breaking bread and pouring out wine, is represented the body and blood of Christ, by which our souls are nourished to eternal life. Thus St. Chrysostom, in his 85th Homily upon St. John's Gospel, cap. xix. v. 34, says, "there issued water and blood; not by chance or unmeaningly did these fountains break forth, but because by both the Church is constituted. This know they who are admitted to the *mysteries*, being regenerated by water, and nourished by flesh and blood. Hence the mysteries take their origin." So again, Hom. 118: "From his side, after he was dead, truly came forth blood and water as a type of the *mysteries*." So Theophylact upon St. John xix. 34: "This was not done without signification; since by these two the life of the Church is given and supported. By water we are born; by his body and blood we are fed."

The Latin fathers seem to have used the two words *mysterium* and *sacramentum* indifferently, oftentimes using the latter in their quotations, where the former occurred in the text. Thus, St. Augustine often quotes Rom. xi. 25, "I would not that ye should be ignorant of this *mystery*," *Nolo vos ignorare fratres hoc sacramentum*;" where the ancient version as well as that of St. Jerome reads *mysterium*. And so, on the other hand, in Ephes. v. 32, where both versions read *sacramentum* the ancient translator of Irenæus, Hilary, and the Pseudo-Ambrosius read *mysterium*. Tertullian, in quoting this text, sometimes reads *sacramentum*, and sometimes *mysterium*. It is apparent, then, that the word *sacramentum* was used by the Latins in the same extended meaning

* Rev. i. 5.

† Rom. vi. 3, 4.

as the word *mystery* among the Greeks; and consequently the disputes which arose at the Reformation, about the number of the sacraments, would have been a mere war of words, if both parties had not limited the definition of the term so as to comprehend only those outward and visible signs, or symbols of an inward and spiritual grace, which were instituted and ordained by Christ himself. "There is nothing," says the learned and candid Bingham, "more usual with the ancients than this way of speaking, to call every sacred rite or ceremony used in the Church, by the name of a sacrament or mystery." They divided "the proper sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, each of them into two or more, meaning the several parts or rites belonging to them. Thus Isidore speaks of four sacraments in the Church, which are Baptism, Chrism, the Body of Christ, and the Blood of Christ." "The like style is used by Pope Innocent, when he calls the Bread and Wine sacraments, in the plural. And Fulbertus Carnotensis is more express when he says, There are two sacraments of life, the body and blood of Christ. No wonder therefore the same author should call the immersion in water, and the unction of Chrism, conveying the Spirit, by the name of the two sacraments of Baptism." "It were easy to add abundance more of such expressions out of other authors."*

Fulbertus, the last author mentioned by Bingham, died in A. D. 1028,† and in A. D. 1013, Pope Adrian issued a bull, in which mention is made of the *sacrament* of Pope St. Gregory, meaning thereby the *relics* of that saint. Du Cange, who is my authority for this,‡ mentions several other instances of the like kind; from which it would seem, that this loose mode of using the word *sacrament*, was common in the West in the eleventh century. Indeed Cassander asserts that "you will hardly find any one of the writers, before Peter Lom-

* Bing. Antiq. book xii. ch. i. sec. 4. The above is the substance of two Essays written in 1821, and published in the April and May numbers of the Gospel Advocate. The author has seen no reason since then to change, and would now have referred his readers to them if the Gospel Advocate had not followed the fate of all such periodicals, that of utter oblivion.

† Cave Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 125.

‡ Gloss. tom. vi. p. 33.

bard, who maintained any certain and definite number of sacraments."* The celebrated work of the master of the sentences, as Peter was called, was the text book in the Theology of succeeding generations; and there you find it in his fourth book, entitled *de Sacramentis*, in the paragraph concerning the Sacraments of the new law: "Let us now come," he says, "to the sacraments of the new law; which are, baptism, confirmation, the bread of benediction, or Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, marriage."† But Peter Lombard flourished in A. D. 1141,‡ and the middle of the twelfth century is too low a peg on the scale of time, to hang upon it a *divine* and *apostolical* tradition.

But, says Dr. Milner, the Church of England "*differs with all others*, namely, the Catholic, the Greek, the Russian, the Armenian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, the Coptic, the Ethiopian, &c., all of which firmly maintain, and ever have maintained, as well since as before their respective defections from us, *the whole collection of the seven sacraments*."§ Here he is at his old doublings again; but

"His turns and doublings cannot save him long,"

though they may cost a keen hunter much patience and no little weariness in the pursuit. I can find no evidence that the *Greeks* held any notion of this precise number, till *after* the time of Peter Lombard. St. John Damascenus, of the eighth century, who is called the last of the Greek Fathers, is entirely silent, as far as I can see, about it; and, I am sure that his editor Le Quien, would have been very sharp sighted to discover such authority, if any existed. In 1439, the necessities of the Greek Emperor, induced him and the heads of the Greek Church, to make a hollow union with Pope Eugenius IV., in hopes of being aided against the Turks. The chief points discussed in the Council of Florence, were the procession of the Holy Ghost, the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation, the primacy of the Pope,

* Consult Cassandri, Artic. XIII. Opera, p. 951.

† My copy is a very ancient one, unpagged, and printed at Venice, by Vendelin de Spira in 1477, small fol. It is in fine condition, has the arms of Pius VI. and belonged to his library.

‡ Cave Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 220.

§ Letter XX.

and the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The *entire silence* about the number of the Mysteries or Sacraments, leads us to infer that they had already adopted, what had now become a settled Latin doctrine.

In the year 1277, John Beccus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, held a Council for the re-union of the Greeks with the Latins; in the acts of which it is said, that "*since the holy Apostolic Church of Rome maintains that there are seven Ecclesiastical Sacraments*," (which they proceed to enumerate,) "*therefore*, we say concerning them as follows, &c." The inference must be that *by the Greeks, the number seven had not been maintained till then*.* But this does not settle the date of its adoption; for the very attempt at re-union obliged Beccus to resign his see in 1279; and after the death of the Emperor Michael Palæologus, who, from motives of policy, had favoured the re-union, a Council was assembled by the Patriarch Gregory II., in 1283, in which all the Bishops were *condemned* who had been active in producing a re-union with the Latins; and acts of penance were enjoined upon them as for a sin. As far therefore as the *Greeks* are concerned, the admission of the *Roman* number *seven* could not have been earlier than the fourteenth century.

When the *Armenian* deputies arrived at Florence, the *subject of the seven Sacraments* was fully defined by the Pope, in his Decree of re-union, dated November 22, 1439. All the points in which the Armenians differed from the Latins and Greeks, are there carefully enumerated. They were required to receive the Latin addition of "*filioque*" to the Nicene Creed; the definitions of the Fourth, and all subsequent General Councils, acknowledged by the Roman See; *the seven Sacraments as defined by that See*; the Athanasian Creed; the decree of union just concluded with the Greeks; and lastly, the observance of certain festivals, on the days in which the Roman Church observed them.†

In the year 1441, the Patriarch of the *Coptic Jacobites* entered into union with the Pope, accepting the proceedings with the Greeks and Armenians at Florence; and in 1444,

* Harduin. Concil., tom. vii. vol. viii. col. 757.

† Ib. tom. ix. vol. x. col. 433-442. Labbe and Cossart. tom. xiii. col. 528-540.

followed the accession of the *Maronites*, and *some of the Chaldeans*; all, no doubt, on the same terms. But this union was too insincere and too feeble to last long; and in 1561 was published the *Concordia Discors* of Sylvester Syropulus, a Greek, who was present at the Council of Florence, and who therefore has given us the Greek account of that splendid but deceptive bubble.

It is certainly a curious fact in the history of the human mind, that there should have been so generally diffused a fondness for the number seven. The falsely so called *Nestorians*, who claim St. Thomas as their Apostle, separated from the Communion of Antioch, in A. D. 484, the same fatal year in which Felix II. of Rome excommunicated Acacius of Constantinople. Their history, after this, became of course to us obscure; but the candid Assemani has given us some particulars with regard to their reception of *seven sacraments*, to which I must call my reader's attention. The first author whom he quotes to show that they receive that number, is *Ebed-Jesu*, Metropolitan of Soba, who flourished about A. D. 1290. His words are, as translated by Assemani: "The Sacraments of the Church are seven, according to the mind of the divine Scriptures. 1. The Priesthood, which administers all sacraments. 2. Holy Baptism. 3. The Oil of Unction. 4. The Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ. 5. The Remission of Sins. 6. The Sacred Leaven. 7. The Sign of the Life-giving Cross." *The list of Timothy II.* who became Catholicos in A. D. 1318 limits the number to seven, but gives the following particulars: 1. The Priesthood. 2. The Consecration of a Church and Altar. 3. Baptism and the Holy Oil. 4. The Holy Sacraments of the Body and Blood. 5. The Benediction of Monks. 6. The Office for the Defunct. 7. The Sacrament of Espousals. Assemani names *eleven* earlier writers, from A. D. 496 to A. D. 987, all of whom, he says, "acknowledge seven sacraments of the Church; but when they *enumerate* them *it is wonderful how far they depart from the truth.*" (!) He gives his readers no opportunity of judging; for *not the remotest allusion is made to the seven sacraments*, in the extracts to which he refers. "The more recent Nestorians," he adds, "when they are asked about the number of the sacra-

ments, either *diminish* or *increase it*, or *substitute some for others.*"*

It is unnecessary to speak of the Russian Church, for it belongs to the *Greek Communion*; nor of the Eutychians, for this is only another name for *Jacobites*; nor of the Ethiopian Church, for that is so connected with the *Coptic*, as always to receive its Abuna or Presiding Bishop from *Egypt*. These names were added by Dr. Milner only to make his phalanx appear the more formidable to uninformed readers. But is it not worse than trifling to assert as he does that the English Communion *differs* with all others, about the sacraments; and that all these ancient Christians not only *now* maintain but *ever have* maintained, the *whole collection of the seven sacraments*? Was there ever such *ignorance*, or such *effrontery*, or BOTH!

It is perfectly well known that the whole proceedings of the Council of Trent, respecting the Sacraments, in 1547, were levelled against the Augsburg Confession. That confession, as it was drawn up in 1530 by Melancthon, and enlarged by him in 1540, with a defence, was the principal object of their attack. Melancthon defines "Sacraments to be rites which have the commandment of God, and to which is added the promise of Grace." "Rites," he observes, "instituted by men cannot properly be called Sacraments; for it belongs not to human authority to promise grace. Wherefore signs instituted without the command of God, are not signs of grace, even though perhaps they may to some degree be instruments of instruction or admonition. Therefore Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Absolution which is the Sacrament of Penance, are truly Sacraments; for these rites have the command of God, and the promise of grace which is peculiar to the New Testament.†

The Protestants having thus reduced the number of Sacraments to three, the Council deemed it the more necessary to insist upon the number seven. It was argued that there were "*seven* virtues, *seven* capital crimes, *seven* defects proceeding from original sin, *six* days of creation and the *sabbath*, *seven* plagues of Egypt, and *seven* planets; and there-

* Assemani Bib. Orient. tom. iii. as cited in tom. iv. p. ccxl.

† Mel. Op. tom. i. fol. 94, 95.

fore that the very dignity of the number *seven*, seemed to authorize the number of *seven* Sacraments." Pallavicini is much offended that Fra Paolo has exposed all these puerilities, but he cannot and does not deny that they were then and there uttered.*

From all such trifling disputes, the Church of England, in her reform, abstained with dignified moderation. She broke no communion with any who chose to count Sacraments upon their fingers. She contented herself with such a definition of the word Sacrament as to both parties would be satisfactory. Without objecting to the ancient enlarged sense of the two words *Mystery* and *Sacrament*, she merely says that she uses *Sacrament* to denote "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace to us *given*;" which outward and visible sign was "*ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive*" the inward and spiritual grace, "*and a pledge to assure us*" of such grace. In this sense, *Marriage* must be excluded; because it is not an outward sign, but a state of life, which, when entered into from holy and pure motives, may indeed be an instrument of conferring grace, but is not necessary to all; and because it was ordained in Paradise, at the formation of the first pair, and therefore not instituted by Christ as a Sacrament of the new law.—*Confirmation*, though it may have been instituted by our Lord himself, is represented in the Scriptures as an *Apostolic* rite, and all its sacramental character proceeds from its inseparable connection with Baptism.—*Repentance after Baptism* is on our part sorrow for having broken our sacrament of fidelity, and a return to that fidelity by forsaking sin. Absolution is the act of God by which He again receives us into favour. *Extreme Unction* must be excluded; because we have no evidence that it was instituted by Christ, nor, as administered only *in articulo mortis*, that it is in accordance with the direction of St. James. According to this definition, *Holy Orders* indeed may be admitted to be a Sacrament; because it is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us by God the Holy Ghost, and ordained by Christ himself; but it conveys gifts and graces, which are necessary only for the sacred ministry.

* Comp. Fra Paolo Storia, lib. ii. 84 with Pallavicini, lib. ix. c. 4.

When therefore the question is asked, "How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?" the cautious answer is, not two only, to the exclusion of all others, but "*Two only as generally necessary to salvation.*" Confirmation is necessary, not as a separate Sacrament, but in its indissoluble connection with Baptism. Holy Orders are necessary; but are not *generally* necessary to salvation. *But BAPTISM and the EUCHARIST are generally necessary to salvation*; because "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved,"* but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. The cautious answer is, "*generally not universally*" necessary to salvation. We presume not to decide the fate of the heathen, nor to adjudge cases of invincible ignorance, which must be left to Heaven's High Chancery; but we proclaim as the doctrine of the Gospel to all who hear its sound, that no man who wilfully neglects these two Sacraments has any right to rely on the promises of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Holding the Catholic faith "whole and undefiled" as it was held by the whole Church previous to the fatal year of schism, A. D. 484, and not being subject to the fetters imposed by an ignorant age, how much more exalted is the position of the English Communion than that of the Roman! This the enlightened members of that Communion know in their hearts, though their consciences are bound down to slavish obedience by the curses of Trent. I speak advisedly when I say this; for during my long sojourn in Italy, I had many opportunities of conversing freely with good and learned men, who knew that I would not betray them, and who, like the Israelites in Egypt, "sighed by reason of the bondage." Their cry will finally come up unto God, and the Lord of Sabaoth will hear their groaning.†

In secret, among themselves, they acknowledge it. A priest who had been educated at Maynooth frankly confessed this to me and to a friend of mine. The professor, whose instructions he attended, when discussing the doctrine of the Sacraments, said to his class, in that serio-comic manner which is so truly Milesian: "Gentlemen, it must be confessed that with regard to the Scriptnres we have not a leg

* Acts iv. 12.

† Exod. ii. 23, 24.

to stand upon; and as for the Fathers, the Catholic Church would have been much better off, if St. Austin, St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome, instead of writing books, had spent their whole lives in breaking stone upon a macadamized road."!

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGINAL SIN AND JUSTIFICATION.

DR. MILNER notices the subject of Original Sin and Justification rather incidentally, by broad assertions that the Church of England was Calvinistic till the end of the reign of James I.; that is, till the 27th of March, 1625, when Charles I. ascended the throne.*

He speaks *much* of Luther, with whom the Church of England had no connection, and *nothing* of Melancthon, who was expressly invited into England by Henry VIII. The reason of this will be apparent to all who examine his references. He is obviously much better acquainted with the dishonest Socinian Archdeacon Blackburn, and with the avowed, though unfair Calvinist, Overton, than with the really standard authors of the English Communion. He never quotes Waterland, the great antagonist of Arian subscription, nor Archdeacon Daubeney, nor Archbishop Laurence, who have, by various ways and different methods, triumphantly vindicated the Church of England from the charge of Calvinism. The fact is most indubitable, that Calvin, who was not born till three months after Henry VIII. began to reign, was not much known in England till after the Marian persecution; and the adoption in 1562 of all the Articles on the doctrines of grace of 1552, clearly shows, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whatever might be the private sentiments of some of the Bishops and Divines, there was no disposition to make the leading points of Calvinism the profession of the Church of England. Let any one compare the XXXIX Articles with the Irish Articles of 1615, and the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, and he

* See Note at the end of Letter XV. and Letter XIX.

will see at once how dissatisfied the Calvinists had ever been with them, and how they finally threw them aside as utterly unmanageable.

As for the deputation sent to the Synod of Dort in 1618, which Dr. Milner cites as a proof of the Church's Calvinism, *it was no act of the Church of England*. The deputies were sent by King James I., who had been brought up in the Calvinistic school; but they maintained boldly and unflinchingly the doctrine of universal redemption as that of the Church of England: a doctrine which, in its consequences, utterly overthrows Calvinism.*

As for Arminianism, for which Dr. Milner flippantly quotes an ignorant sneer of the great Lord Chatham, it was not broached when the Articles were framed. Great men cannot be great in all things; and when Lord Chatham talked of "a Calvinist Creed and an Arminian Clergy" he talked nonsense, and showed only that he knew more of politics than of divinity. The XVIIth Article, in its definition of predestination to life, did not even touch the dispute of the Calvinists and Arminians. But not to anticipate, I shall only here observe, that the origin of the English Articles has lately had a clear light thrown upon it by the publication of Dr Jenkyns' Cranmer, which utterly exposes the ignorance and futility of all Dr. Milner's assertions.

The fourth article of Pope Pius's Creed refers to the proceedings of the Council of Trent on Original Sin and Justification; and the eleventh Article of the London Synod of 1552, which differs not in substance from the eleventh Article of 1562, refers to "the Homily of Justification." The Article as it was originally framed, and the Homily to which it refers for explanation, were both written by Archbishop Cranmer. I therefore proceed to show, first the doctrine of the Tridentine Synod, with its origin and motives, and then the doctrine of the English Reformation under Cranmer.

In my account of Trent, I shall follow Pallavicini, who does not differ in substance from Fra Paolo, though by suppression he attempts to *appear* different. Pallavicini states, that the discussion on the doctrine of Original Sin turned

* Collier, E. H. vol. ii. p. 718.

† See Note to paragraph 5, in Letter XIX.

upon five points : 1, its nature ; 2, the mode of its propagation ; 3, the injurious effects produced by it ; 4, the remedy ; and 5, the efficacy of that remedy. On the first of these points it was maintained, that as blindness is the privation of vision, so Original Sin consisted in the privation of Original Righteousness, or the righteousness in which Adam was created, or constituted. This, it was said, was conceded in the conference at Worms in 1540. And in fact, if we examine Melancthon's words, we find him defining "this corruption of human nature" as being "the defect of *Justice*," another word for *Righteousness*, which he also calls Integrity or Original Obedience." He adds, that this corruption "embraces or comprehends concupiscence, (concupiscentiam complectitur,) and is the defect, the horrible blindness and disobedience, which wants the rectitude, the true, pure and supreme love of God and other similar gifts of man's upright nature."* On this first point therefore the Protestants and the Council of Trent were not at variance.

Nor was there any great difference on the second point. Adam was compared to a feudal lord, holding lands from his sovereign on the tenure of service. If he fails in that duty, he forfeits his possessions, not only for himself, but for his posterity. It was expressly stated in the Council, that Zuinglius, and not the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession, was here in error ; and even this exception, according to Fra Paolo, arose from a misapprehension of the Swiss Reformer's meaning.†

On the third point, there being great diversities of opinion, among the schoolmen and in the Council itself, a very guarded and cautious judgment was pronounced, which in substance did not differ from that of the German reformers ; that Adam, beside the gifts received from nature, possessed, by the mere favour of God, rectitude or uprightness, and justice or righteousness ; that preserving these, he would have enjoyed immortality for himself and his offspring, and would have transfused to them the same gifts ; but that having sinned, and by that sin, which was disobedience, having ruined himself and his posterity, he had, both for himself and them, lost grace,

* Opera, tom. i. fol. 39.

† Fra Paolo Sarpi St. lib. ii. 64, ad an. 1546.

which could be restored only through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ.

On the fourth point, the *remedy* for Original Sin, the Council was unanimous that it was Baptism ; by which the merits and death of Christ are applied to infants, remitting the guilt of Original Sin, restoring the recipient to a state of reconciliation and grace, and removing all impediments to salvation. Thus far there was no essential difference with the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession ; for in the Articles of Faith declared at Worms in 1540, Baptism is expressly said to be "necessary to salvation ;" and the baptism of infants, the act by which "they are received into the grace of God, and become the sons of God."*

In the same passage (Art. IX.) the Protestants condemn the Anabaptists, because "they reject infant baptism, and affirm that infants are saved without baptism, and out of the Church of Christ."†

What then were the points in debate between the Protestants and Rome, on the subject of Original Sin and its remedy ? I answer that they were two : the efficacy of Faith, and the nature of Concupiscence. If any one will carefully examine the two last canons of the fifth session of the Council of Trent, held June 17th, 1546, he will see that *all mention of Faith is studiously avoided*, and that Concupiscence after Baptism, the existence of which they could not deny, is declared to be "*in the regenerate not truly and properly sin, but only proceeding from sin, and inclining to sin.*"

As to *faith*, in connection with the use of the Sacraments, the Protestants taught as follows : "The Sacraments are not only marks of profession among men, but much more ; being signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth to excite and confirm Faith in those who use them. Wherefore the Sacraments must be so used that the Faith, which believes in the promises exhibited and shown by the Sacraments, may be increased. By this faith, we receive the promised grace, (which the Sacraments signify,) and the Holy Spirit."

"They condemn therefore the Pharisaic opinion which

* Melancth. Opera. tom. i. fol. 40.

† Damnant Anabaptistas qui improbant baptismum infantum, et affirmant infantes sine baptismo et extra Ecclesiam Christi salvos fieri.

buries the doctrine concerning faith, and does not teach that Faith is required in the use of the Sacraments, namely, the Faith which believes that grace is given to us for Christ's sake; but feigns that men are just, on account of the use of the Sacraments *ex opere operato*, and indeed without any good motive of those who use them.*

The Council of Trent did thus bury the doctrine of Faith, because they could not agree upon it. Pallavicini states, that Jerome of Bologna, Bishop of Syracuse, urged the necessity of Faith, and was so strongly supported by Seripando, General of the Order of St. Augustine, that the latter incurred the suspicions of the Council, and was obliged to exculpate himself, as if by insisting on the efficacy of faith he highly valued that of baptism. "Nevertheless," says the historian, "the majority were opposed to naming 'Faith' in the decree, because it is not universally required for the destruction of Original Sin, as are the other causes mentioned. This is apparent in the baptism of infants."†

Most lame and impotent conclusion! For the Protestants guarded their doctrine, by speaking of *that Faith only* which believes the promises made in the Sacraments. A man must believe the promises made in baptism, before he can be persuaded to ask for it. The parents, or sponsors of a child, must believe that promises are conveyed to the child in baptism, or they will not be anxious to present their child. Faith in the promises must *always*, therefore, go before baptism; and, in the case of infants, it is the Faith of those who bring them; just as Jesus healed the man sick of the palsy, when he saw—not his Faith, but—the Faith of the friends, who laid the helpless sufferer at his feet.

On the subject of Concupiscence, there were great debates, because the different Schools of Roman Theology were much at variance. It required no little skill, to frame a canon which might be so worded as not to impinge on these several varieties. For all this, I must refer my reader to the two rival historians of the Council. But there is one remarkable fact mentioned by Pallavicini, which I have never seen noted by writers on this controversy. It occurs in the proceedings

* Mel. Op. ut sup. tom. i. fol. 41, art. xiii. 1540.

† Pallav. St. lib. vii. c. 8, tom. i. p. 636.

of the eighth of June, 1546, and in the answer of Bertani to the arguments of Seripando and Cardinal Pole.* "The framers of the decree," he observed, "had advisedly used the term 'regenerate' instead of 'baptized;' as it might happen that some one might be baptized, and notwithstanding remain in the wrath of God, because he had not received baptism with the necessary disposition. But this could not be, if he were regenerate; for every one who, in the baptismal font, was buried with Christ, was truly regenerate, as expressed in the decree." The passage is in the last canon, beginning with "manere autem," and ending with the usual "anathema." Thus, to avoid the argument pressed upon them by Seripando and Cardinal Pole, who agreed with the Protestants that Concupiscence hath the nature of sin, they were the first who denied the necessary connection of Regeneration with Baptism, and maintained, in the language of Bertani, that "although Concupiscence remains excluded from Heaven, it cannot be hateful to God in his servants on earth;" or in other words, that God sees no sin in his elect! The Protestants, following in this case the ancient Catholic doctors, always used the terms *Regeneration and Baptism as inseparably connected*; but the Council of Trent was the first to violate this necessary connection, for no other purpose than to uphold their scholastic doctrine concerning Concupiscence after baptism!

Sec. 2. The Justification of Adults.

The subject of Original Sin, and the Justification of Infants, as being baptized *before* the commission of actual sin, being thus disposed of, the Council proceeded to examine the doctrine of the Protestants concerning Grace, the remedy for sin, in the case of baptism received by *adults*, and consequently *after* actual sin. It is of great importance to mark this distinction, as it throws great light upon the whole controversy. Cardinal Pole was for moderate measures, and exhorted the Fathers not to read the books of their adversaries, as if all that they said was false. Cardinal Pacheco also entreated them to consider, that they had no aid from ancient scholas-

* Pal. St. lib. vii. cap. 9, tom. i. p. 639.

ties, or from ancient Councils; and that the *Tridentine Synod* was the *first* who were now called upon to *define the doctrine of Justification*. He lamented that they were *so few in number, and that number diminishing daily*.^{*} Cardinal Pole, who was one of the presiding legates, was taken ill, and left the Council; † and Cardinal Pacheco, being an Imperialist, was not in favour with the Papal party. These circumstances, and the war now began with the Protestant princes, all conspired to create many delays, and to prevent that calm and dispassionate examination by a numerous body of Bishops and Theologians, which the importance of the subject demanded.

The discussion was arranged by the two remaining legates, the Cardinals Del Monte and Cervini, under three heads: 1. The state of the unbelieving adult who is first converted and then justified; 2. That of one who being justified, continues in grace; 3. That of one who falls from grace, and recovers it. With these, at the request of Pelargo, the question of free will was to be considered, as being necessarily connected with the Justification of Adults.

I. THE UNBELIEVING ADULT FIRST CONVERTED AND THEN JUSTIFIED.

It must here be observed, that the dispute between the Council and the Protestants, *turned only upon what was to be done by man*. In the discussion, therefore, under the first head, both parties were agreed as to the necessity of Baptism for the remission of sins. In the first Article of the Confession of 1540, the Protestants confess the Nicene Creed, which expressly declares the truth of "one baptism for the remission of sins." In the ninth Article they teach that Baptism is *necessary* to salvation, and that "BY OR THROUGH BAPTISM THE GRACE OF GOD IS OFFERED," freely *offered* on the part of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ; and received by man, through faith, and not on account of his own works or deservings. "When therefore," says Melancthon, in the name of the Protestants, "we say that we are justified by faith, we do not understand this as if we become just on account of the dignity of that virtue. But this is our judgment: that

^{*} Pallav. lib. viii. c. 2.

† Pallav. lib. viii. c. 7, tom. i. p. 632.

we obtain remission of sins and the imputation of righteousness, through mercy for Christ's sake. But this mercy cannot be received unless by Faith. And Faith here does not signify merely the knowledge of history, but it signifies, to believe the promise of mercy which is applied to us for the sake of the mediator Christ.^{*} Now the promise of mercy is thus applied, as the Protestants admitted, in Baptism.

According to Fra Paolo's account, there were but *forty-five* theologians assembled at Trent, when the subject of Justification was first discussed; † and the small number of Fathers present appears from the number of votes at the close of July, 1546, respecting the prorogation of the Council. These were, according to Pallavicini, 27 to 29, or fifty-six in all.—Even on the 13th of January, 1547, when the final vote concerning the decree of Justification was taken, the whole number was but sixty-eight, viz., two Legates, two other Cardinals, ten Archbishops, forty-five Bishops, one Jesuit, one Dominican, two Abbots, and five Generals of Religious Orders. ‡

Even the most favourable account represents them as greatly divided in sentiment, very pertinacious in adhering to the opinions of their several schools, and indulging in acts of violence and fury totally unbecoming the character of Christian Bishops and Divines. That many of them agreed with the Protestants, as to Justification by Faith only before Baptism, is certain. "All agreed," says Pallavicini, "that Justification is a passage from a state of enmity to a state of friendship and adoption as sons of God; but four, whom he names, adhered to the opinion attributed to Peter Lombard, but *abandoned by the schools*. Now the opinion of Peter Lombard was, that the Holy Spirit is essentially love; and that when He is sent, or given to us, He produces the love of God and our neighbour in our hearts.§ This was the doctrine of the Protestants; but it was not considered by the Legates as

^{*} Credere promissioni misericordiae quae nobis propter Mediatorem Christum contingit. Art. fidei 1540. Melancth. Op. tom. i. fol. 43.

† Fra Paolo St. lib. ii. 75.

‡ Pallav. lib. viii. cap. 7, comp. with c. 18, num. 10, and Fleury Hist. Eccl. liv. cxliii. 78.

§ Sentent. Lib. Magis. Pet. Lombard. lib. i. cap. De Missione Spiritus Sancti.

Catholic, and therefore they denounced these four theologians, in the letters they sent to Rome.*

These four were joined by a fifth, in maintaining "that man is justified by faith, in as much as he believes most firmly that he receives pardon through the merits of Christ."

As to works done before Justification "the greater part of the Theologians said, that they were meritorious of Justification, in that degree of merit, which was called congruous.— But, with respect to works done after Justification, and therefore taking their form from grace, and their value from the merits of Christ, of whom the operator is a living member, all allowed the degree of condign merit, to preserve and augment the grace itself, and attain to eternal life. But the four, already mentioned, seemed greatly to extenuate the powers of merit, and even in this, to take side with the opinion of the Innovators," i. e. the Protestants.†

Ten points of reputed error were discussed on the state of the adult before baptism. Fra Paolo enumerates twelve, and attributes them to the Lutherans alone; but Pallavicini says they were extracted from the writings "not only of the Lutherans, but of the Pelagians, Zuinglians, and other heretics." In this assertion, so far as the Lutherans were concerned, he is the most correct; for no one acquainted with the writings either of Luther or Melancthon, can read the first twelve of the twenty-five propositions stated by Fra Paolo, without perceiving that they are not responsible for them.*

Beside the conferences of the inferior Theologians, there were no less than eight general congregations, to hear the votes of all the Fathers. "At the first of these, held on the fifth of July, Cardinal Pacheco and nine Archbishops gave their judgments in writing. The Archbishop of Siena was the only one who attributed all to Christ and nothing to us; all Justification to Faith, and none to other dispositions." On the sixth of July, the Bishop of Cava, in a long discourse, arrogated all to Faith; being of opinion that Faith being established, Justification would immediately follow, of which hope and charity, though they would be inseparable companions, would not be causes, and as it were forerunners."

* Pallav. lib. viii. c. 4, num. 2. † Ib. lib. viii. c. iv. num. 3, 4.

† Comp. Sarpi St. lib. i. sec. lxxv. with Pallav. lib. viii. c. iv. num. 5.

In the next congregation, Bertano maintained, that man is justified *per la fede* and not *dalla fede*; because our righteousness is not Faith, but by Faith we obtain it." Contarino, Bishop of Belluno, "ascribed all to Faith and to the merits of Jesus Christ, and nothing to works; maintaining that they were signs of faith and justice, but had no part in acquiring or preserving it. Bernardo Diaz, Bishop of Calaoorra, was of an entirely different opinion: that the unbeliever does not dispose himself, by any work of his, to merit calling, which is the free gift of God; that being called, he is still at liberty to obey or resist the calling; but if he wills to obey, he believes, hopes, turns to God, whom he knows to be propitious to such as recur to Him, detests sin, proposes to observe the divine law, receives baptism, and in that attains to justifying grace, infused into him, by God. The Bishop of the Canaries contended for the opposite extreme to that of the Bishop of Cava and Belluno. He affirmed that works done in the state of nature, and with the general aid only of God, were not merits either of condignity or congruity, to obtain grace, but that God of his goodness was moved by them to grant it. Seripando distinguished two Justifications; one by which the impious man becomes pious, with which works do not concur, because nothing is required on the part of man before Justification or any other special favour preparatory to it, and hence the Apostle speaks of being justified freely: for this Justification, repentance for sins past was required; but Justification was not granted for the merit of repentance, as to say that, would be Pelagianism. Another meaning of Justification, was, to walk justly in the way of the divine commandments; and for this power is given us, with the gift of the Holy Spirit, and afterwards the fulfilment in the works commanded. In this sense works were necessary for Justice or Righteousness.*

I have given these extracts from Pallavicini, to show the reader the actual state of the discussion. The quarrel of Sanfelice, Bishop of Cava, with Zannettino, Bishop of Chironia, is a specimen of the spirit with which it was conducted. The former overheard the latter speaking of him in terms of disparagement, as either ignorant or obstinate in error.

* Pallav. lib. viii. c. iv. num. 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19.

Upon which he rushed on him and plucked out a lock of his beard. His opinion, which I have stated, being unpalatable to the Court of Rome, they availed themselves of his indiscretion, and banished him from the Council. Indefensible as his conduct was, he was not the only passionate disputant, as the Bishop of Calaurra admitted when he said that, "if *minor offences* of the same kind (*le protervie minori*) had been punished, the Council would not have been so dishonoured."*

It will now be seen that several important concessions were made by the Council. The question started by Luther was new. The ancient Church was silent on the subject. After the introduction of the Christian religion, the baptism of infants had been so general, that cases of conversion of Jews or Gentiles were those only in which adult baptism was administered. The predisposing conduct of such converts had not been fully considered, and opinions on the subject had become very diverse. During the four hundred years which had elapsed since the time of Peter Lombard, the schools had so far departed from him, as to admit that the natural man could turn and prepare himself to deserve grace by what they called the merit of Congruity.

In the language of the middle ages, "Congruum," as Dugange shows,† was synonymous with "Cambium," and meant *exchange*; or perhaps, as the word imports, a *proper* or *equitable* exchange, an *equivalent*. Of this he gives an instance in a "Cambium" or deed of exchange of certain pieces of land, between two monasteries in A. D. 1086; in which the property, so transferred, is called a "Congruum."‡ The instrument will be found at full length in Muratori.§ When therefore, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the schoolmen spake of Merits of Congruity, they meant that man, by his own natural strength, can prepare himself to receive the divine infusion of grace by certain good deeds, which he offers, and God is pleased to accept in exchange for it. Now this doctrine of meriting grace de Congruo, in the view of the Lutherans, struck at the very root of the Christian religion.¶

* Pallav. lib. viii. c. vi.

† Gloss. vv. Cambium and Congruum, tom. ii. col. 67 and col. 965.

‡ Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. ii. p. ii. col. 1003.

§ See Abp. Laurence's Bampton Lectures, Notes on Sermon IV.

Having arrived at this stage of the discussion, towards the close of July, 1546, the attention of the Council was entirely turned, by the alarming approach of the Protestant army, to the questions on its prorogation and translation; questions concerning which the Papal and Imperial parties were widely and warmly at variance. As Henry VIII. died in the following January, it is now proper that we should turn to the proceedings of the Church of England.

In the spring of 1538, a mission was sent from the Protestant Princes to the King of England, for the double purpose of forming a political alliance and a joint confession of faith. The Articles agreed upon at that time between Myconius and Cranmer, with other bishops and divines, form the connecting-link between the Confession of Augsburg and the English Articles of 1552; but strange to say, they have been published for the first time by Dr. Jenkyns in 1833. Being for the use of foreigners, they were drawn up in Latin, and therefore, when compared with the Articles of 1552 and 1562, the Latin edition of those Articles should be used. Nevertheless I shall here subjoin an English translation of such parts of them as appertain to our present subject; being governed in it by the language of the English Articles.

2. Of Original Sin.

"All men, propagated according to nature, are born with original sin; that is, with the privation (*carentia*) of that original righteousness (*justitiæ*) which ought to be in them, whence they are children of wrath, and fail of the knowledge of God, the fear of God, confidence towards God, &c., and have concupiscence which is repugnant to the law of God. And this disease or fault of origin is truly sin, condemning and now also bringing eternal death to those who are not *born again by Baptism and the Holy Ghost*. We condemn the Pelagians, and others who deny that this fault of origin is sin, and who, that they may lessen the glory of the merit and benefits of Christ, argue that man, by his natural powers without the Holy Ghost, can satisfy the law of God, and on account of becoming works of reason (*propter honesta opera rationis*) can be pronounced just before God."

4. *Of Justification.*

"Likewise, concerning Justification, we teach that it properly signifies the remission of sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is, into the true renovation in Christ; and that sinners, although they do not obtain this Justification without repentance and a good and inclining motion of the heart, which the Holy Ghost effects towards God and their neighbour, are not, however, justified on account of the dignity or merit of repentance; or of any works or merits of their own, but freely for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into grace, and that their sins are remitted for Christ's sake, who by his death hath made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness (*pro justitia*) before Him.* But we understand faith, not to be empty or idle, but that 'which worketh by love.' For it is the true and Christian faith of which we here speak, not merely the knowledge of the articles of faith, or a belief at least historic of Christian doctrine, but together with that knowledge and belief, a firm assurance (*fiducia*) of God's mercy promised for Christ's sake, by which truly we are certainly persuaded and firmly believe that He is merciful and gracious towards us. And this faith truly justifies, is truly salutiferous, not feigned, dead or hypocritical, but necessarily has faith and charity inseparably connected with it, and also the desire of living well, and it worketh well according to place and opportunity. For good works are necessary to salvation, not because from an impious man they make one just, nor because they are a price for sins, or a cause of Justification, but because it is necessary that he who is already justified by faith, and reconciled to God through Christ, should desire to do the will of God according to that: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven.' But whosoever does not desire to do these works, but lives according to the flesh, neither has true faith nor is just, nor (unless he is heartily sorry and truly repents,) will he attain to eternal life.

* Rom. iii. and iv.

"That we may obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and offering the Sacraments, hath been instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who effects faith where and when it seems good to God, in those who hear the Gospel, namely that God, not on account of our merits, but on account of Christ, justifies the penitent, who believe that they are received into grace on Christ's account. We condemn the Anabaptists, and others, who think that the Holy Ghost comes to men without the external word, through their own preparations and works."

6. *Of Baptism.*

"Of Baptism, we say, that Baptism is instituted by Christ, and is necessary to salvation, and that through Baptism, the remission of sins and the grace of Christ are offered to infants and adults. And that Baptism ought not to be repeated, and that infants ought to be baptized. And that infants through Baptism obtain remission of sins, and grace, and are children of God, because the promise of grace and eternal life belongs not only to adults, but also to infants. And this promise, through the ministry in the Church, ought to be administered to infants and adults. Because, of a truth infants are born with original sin, they have need of the remission of that sin, and that sin is so remitted that the guilt (*reatus*) is taken away, although the corruption of nature or concupiscence remains in this life, though it begins to be healed; because the Holy Ghost, even in infants themselves, is efficacious, and cleanses them. We approve, therefore, the sentence of the Church, which hath condemned the Pelagians, because they denied that infants have original sin. We condemn the Anabaptists also, who deny that infants must be baptized. Concerning adults, indeed, we teach that they so obtain, through Baptism, the remission of sins and grace, if, when about to be baptized, they bring true repentance, the confession of the articles of faith, and believe truly that to themselves is there granted the remission of sins and justification for Christ's sake, as Peter saith in the Acts: 'Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of

Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.' " *

The comparison of these Articles with the corresponding parts of the Augsburg Confession, with the Homily of Salvation, written by Cranmer, and with the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth Articles, will clearly show that the English Reformers took the Protestant ground as to the state both of infants and adults before baptism; not *because* it was Protestant; but *because* the Protestants took the *Catholic* ground, *from which the Council of Trent, following the later schoolmen, had departed.* There is a most interesting paper, published in full by Dr. Jenkyns, for the first time in 1833, entitled, "*Notes on Justification, with Authorities from Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Schoolmen*"—conjectured by Dr. Wordsworth to have been the foundation of the three Homilies of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works." It "is valuable," Dr. Jenkyns observes, "not only as a specimen of Cranmer's method of study, and as a concise and undoubted declaration of his tenets on justification, but as an evidence, hitherto not generally known, of his contributions to our first book of Homilies." The doctrine of Justification by faith only, must not be separated from Baptism, which is the act granting Justification on the part of God, by which the merits of Christ are applied to wash away the spot and stain of sin. Hence the Homily says, "our office is not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, *after that we are baptized or justified*; and so the title of the thirteenth article, "Of works before justification," means *works before baptism*; as after what has been said, the reader will clearly see from the mention of the scholastic doctrine of *deserving the grace of congruity.* In conformity with this, is the expression of the twelfth article, entitled "Of good works." No works are called good, but such as "are the fruits of faith and follow *after* Justification," i. e. after Baptism. The natural man listens to the word of God, which teaches him that even his best works are sinful, and that he can be saved only through the merits of Jesus Christ. The Holy Ghost, operating through the word, alarms his conscience. * Repentance and Faith spring up in his heart, and he immedi-

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. iv. pp. 274-280.

ately cries out, "See here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?"

It will immediately be seen that by Baptism the whole aspect of things is changed. By that solemn covenant, man is brought into a state of grace and pardon, and hence the Homily, immediately after the passage quoted, adds: "Much less it is our office, after that we be once made Christ's members, to live contrary to the same; making ourselves members of the Devil, walking after his enticements, and after the suggestions of the world and the flesh, whereby we know that we do serve the world and the Devil and not God."

We proceed now to the two remaining points of examination by the Theologians and Fathers:

II. THE ADULT JUSTIFIED, AND CONTINUING IN GRACE.

III. THE ADULT WHO FALLS FROM GRACE AND RECOVERS IT.

On the nineteenth of July, A. D. 1546, the Council of Trent began the examination of these second and third states unitedly. Fonseca, Bishop of Castellamare, discoursed long and learnedly, that "no special aid of God was commonly requisite to a just man,"—he meant, thereby, a justified, or baptized man,—"in order to observe the Commandments, but only that general aid which to no just man is denied. Special aid was required only when some precept of extraordinary difficulty was to be encountered." He distinguished works into four classes, the last of which only originated from the Holy Ghost, who dwells and works in us."

On the 22d of July, the Abbot Isidore Clarius, of Brescia, "remarked that in the Scriptures, *justice* or righteousness is attributed to *faith*, but *salvation* to *works*. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For faith is the cause of righteousness, good works done in righteousness, the cause of salvation." This, as we shall hereafter see, approached very near to the doctrine of the Church of England.

In the congregation of July 24th, the Canons which had been framed by the deputies were produced for examination. *All but five* admitted the term *habit* as applied to *grace*, and agreed that it was *intrinsic in us*, and not *the mere extrinsic*

assistance of the Holy Ghost, nor the mere imputation of the righteousness of Christ."* This was the point in which the schools had departed from Peter Lombard, and in which they were at issue with the Protestants. "The whole form of the decree," says Pallavicini, "was displeasing to many:" and for this cause it was referred to Seripando, the General of the Augustinians, the order, be it observed, to which Luther had belonged.† This was not very agreeable to the Legates, who wished to hasten the decision; but Cardinal Pacheco and the Imperialists wished to give the Emperor time to make terms with the Lutherans.

Seripando maintained a two-fold justification. The first, by faith and not works, is a passing from the condition of enemies to that of sons of God; not as the reward of works, but by the pure mercy of the Saviour, obtained for us by faith, and not merited for us by repentance, although that is required; for repentance before justification, as the work of an enemy of God, cannot be meritorious; and that which takes place after it, finds sin, and consequently eternal punishment, already remitted. Justification taken in the other sense, inasmuch as it is the life of a just man, truly requires works; and therefore the Apostle says that in Jesus Christ that faith is availing which worketh by love. This justice, however, is not to be attributed to works alone, but to faith likewise, since works, though necessary, would not be sufficient if the other justice (or righteousness) of Christ which makes up for all our defects, were not applied to us through faith."‡ If Seripando had not used the term *intrinsic in us* as applicable to the first righteousness, it would be difficult to say where his doctrine differed from that of the Lutherans. But there were only five theologians who adhered to him, three of whom were of his own Augustinian order; and the decrees he had drawn up "were so changed," says Pallavicini, "that he no longer acknowledged them as his own."

There was another point in which the Council contended against the Lutherans. They maintained that the adult who repents, believes, and is baptized, may be certain that he is

* Pallav. lib. viii. cap. ix. num. 2, 3, 5, 7.

† Pallav. ut sup. num. 10.

‡ Pallav. lib. viii. cap. xi. num. 4, 5, 7.

in a state of grace. The majority of the Council, on the other hand, favoured what has since been universally received in the Roman Communion, that every adult having committed actual sin, cannot be certain that it has been remitted to him, unless God specially reveals it to him. We cannot, therefore, be sure that we are just, because faith reveals but three modes of justification: first, by the sacrament—he that believes and is baptized shall be saved; second, by confession—'whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto them: but to the value of baptism the intention of the minister is requisite, which is an internal act of the heart, and no man can have certain evidence of it. The third mode of justification is martyrdom, which is completed by death; and therefore, in life there can be no certainty of being on that account in grace.* Thus, for the sake of maintaining their novel doctrine that the efficacy of baptism depends on the intention of the minister, they opposed the doctrine of the Lutherans, that a man coming with repentance and faith to baptism, may be certain that he is thereby translated into a state of grace!

From the consideration of the certainty of being in a state of grace, the Council proceeded to examine the subject of predestination and election. Fra Paolo says expressly that they found nothing on this point to censure in the writings of Luther, or the Confession of Augsburg; and that the seven or eight propositions, which are what we now call Calvinism, were extracted from the works of the Zuinglians.†—Fleury says the same thing,‡ and Archbishop Lawrence has triumphantly proved it.§ In fact, the admission that we are brought by baptism into a state of pardon and acceptance, is an admission that we are thereby *elected*, not in the sense in which the Calvinists and Arminians use the term, but in that of the ancient Church, and as that Church understood its use in Scripture. Throughout the Old Testament the nation of Israel are called the peculiar people of God, His peculiar treasure, His chosen ones, or elect, the special people whom He

* Pallav. lib. viii. cap. xiii. num. 2, 3.

† Sarpi St. lib. ii. lxxx.

‡ Hist. Eccl. liv. 143, § 70.

§ See Bampton Lectures and Notes, passim.

hath chosen or elected unto himself. The same terms are applied in the New Testament to the spiritual Israel, the Christian Church. Let any one compare Exod. xix. 5, 6, Deut. xiv. 2, Isai. xliii. 20, with 1 Pet. ii. 9, and he will see that the covenant privileges to which circumcision entitled the Jew, are applied to the corresponding Sacrament of Baptism.

That such is and has always been the doctrine of the English Communion, is apparent from the Offices of infant and adult baptism, and the Catechism. In the Offices, the prayer of consecration, which has continued from 1549, with only verbal alterations, beseeches God to grant that the children or adults to be baptized may "*ever remain* in the number of thy faithful and ELECT children." The Catechism also, in that part which was prepared by Cranmer, not only puts into the mouth of every baptized child the words, "I heartily thank our heavenly Father that he hath called me to *this state of salvation*," and "I pray God to give me his grace that I may *continue in the same unto my life's end*," but it also makes him express in the Baptismal Creed his belief "in God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth ME and all the ELECT people of God." This is perfectly intelligible if all "*baptized or justified*" persons, to use the language of the Homily, are by that sacrament admitted to the *first election*, which is that of *privileges*, and consequently *conditional*.—They are to give diligence to make their calling and election sure,* that they may not "fall." Hence we pray that they may "*remain* in the number of the elect," and that they may "*continue* in this state of salvation unto their lives' end." Let the range of the controversy be kept continually within the limits assigned to it, *before* and *after* Baptism, as the formal act of Justification, and it will be seen that the English Articles, from the ninth to the eighteenth inclusive, are perfectly consistent with our Liturgy and Offices, and with the ancient language of the Catholic Church. They are inconsistent only with the writings of the later Schoolmen, who flourished in the Latin Church during the four hundred years between Peter Lombard and the Council of Trent; and it is only from the

* 2 Pet. i. 10.

recent injudicious revival of the study of these Schoolmen by men of subtle or inexperienced and imaginative minds, that so much depreciation of our Articles has been uttered. The *sixteenth* Article asserts that "after we have received the Holy Ghost," *i. e.* after baptism, "we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and by the grace of God, we may arise again and amend our lives." That this is inconsistent with the Calvinian theory, the Calvinists themselves admitted in 1572, when they complained that "the Book of Articles of Christian Religion speaketh very dangerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed, because it too much inclineth to their (the Pelagians') error."* But, if we keep in mind the questions discussed when the Articles were written, we shall see that this Article was obviously meant of "adults who fall from the grace of baptism and afterwards recover it," which was the *third* question.

In like manner, the *seventeenth* Article was intended to meet the *second* question; or to consider the state of adults who, having been admitted to the *first election*, or the state of Justification, continue in that grace to their lives' end. It therefore cautiously uses the term *predestination*, not simply, but with the important addition,—*to life*, in order to show, that they only will be finally saved who, having been called, have through grace obeyed the calling, and been baptized into Christ; and who then become truly conformed to his image, and walk in newness of life. It is in fact no more than a *description of the passage of the true Christian through time to eternity*. It touches not the case of the heathen, leaving them to the uncovenanted mercies of God; nor does it touch upon that subtle dispute, as to the moving cause of God's predestination, which afterwards sprang from the Calvinian theory, and constituted the ground of contention between the Gomarists and the Arminians.

By keeping constantly in view this historical testimony, the dates alone will show the construction which ought to be placed, on the proceedings of the Tridentine Synod until January 13th, 1547, and the London Synod in 1552. The decrees of Trent were finally drawn up by the Cardinal

* Second Admonition, quoted by Waterland, Supplement to case of Arian Subscription, 1722, p. 52.

Cervini, afterwards Pope, under the title of Marcellus II. *They were so blotted and interlined with notes and remarks, that it was necessary to copy them three times; and they were afterwards retouched in many places, before the SIXTY-EIGHT BISHOPS AND DIVINES, the small number present at the final session, could agree upon them!** Even then, the Imperialists and the Politicians remained dissatisfied. No ambassadors of princes were present; and the French, when pressed to appear at the session, replied that they would come, if the Cardinal Pacheco would appear there in the name of the Emperor, and confirm the proceedings with his signature. As he refused to do this, the French Ambassadors remained in their lodgings, and those of the Emperor were ordered to leave Trent.† The Emperor, in fact, did not wish to have the doctrines then upheld by the Protestants condemned. He wished for the decrees of reformation of sundry abuses to be passed, that the Protestants might be conciliated, and to leave the subject of doctrines as open as possible; but the Papal party insisted on proceeding with equal pace in the decision of doctrines, and the reformation of abuses, rigidly exacting the one, and extenuating, as much as possible, the other. Yet the studied ambiguity, and the cautious omissions rendered necessary by the internal divisions of the Council, in many parts of the decrees on Original Sin and Justification, together with the plentiful anathemas pronounced, produced, when publicly known, the derision of acute, and the lamentation of many serious minds. Before the dissolution of the Council, the Imperialists wished to have had the decrees of Original Sin and Justification revised, alleging that they had been passed with indecent haste, when there was a very inconsiderable number present. But they were outvoted, and obliged to yield.‡

When therefore the bull of Pope Pius IV. required men, under the pains and penalties of an oath, to say, as in the fourth Article of his Creed, "I embrace and receive *all things and every thing which have been defined and declared by the Holy Council of Trent, concerning Original Sin and Jus-*

* Pallav. lib. viii. cap. xiii. num. 4, Fleury, liv. 143, § 76.

† Fleury, ut sup. § 78.

‡ Lett. et Mém. de Vargas, p. 36.

tification," it bound upon the members of the Roman Communion the dreadful burthen of professing a doctrine neither Apostolic nor Catholic. I have shown, from their own historian, and from the confession of two most distinguished Cardinals, Pole and Pacheco, the one an Englishman, the other a Spaniard, that they were venturing to define as an article of faith, what had been before considered as only a matter of opinion. A small and inconsiderable body, acting under impulses derived from Rome, presumed to call themselves œcumenical. Their whole proceedings betrayed ignorance, precipitation, and passion; and when they had gained their point, they obstinately refused any reconsideration, though their decision was derided at the time, for its studied ambiguity, and was lamented by the wise and good, because it crossed the boundary between Pelagianism and Orthodoxy, and widened a breach which moderate measures might have closed.

How much wiser and better and more dignified was the conduct of the London Synod of 1552! Calling no man master, they agreed with the Protestants, because they had taken the *ancient catholic ground*, as to the state of man before Baptism, and as to the simple act of Faith preceding Justification. Throughout the Bible, from righteous Abel, to the latest recorded example, no blessing from God could be obtained without *faith*. The paralytic, whose hand was withered and powerless, was told to stretch it out, and he *obeyed*, and was healed. The ten lepers were told to show themselves to the priest, and *as they went* they were healed. It was not from their own power; nor was there any merit in the act by which they showed that they believed the promises of the Divine Healer. When healed, their state was different. The hand which was restored to soundness, was then required to work. The leprous stain being removed, the lepers were to mingle again in the active business of life. This distinction between *justifying* and *lively* faith is accurately made in the Articles, and is so clearly expressed by Bishop Marsh, that I shall conclude this chapter with his words:

"We assert, that *unassisted* man can do *nothing* which is pleasing to God: the Church of Rome asserts, that unassisted man may at least do *some* things pleasing to God." . . .

"The *thirteenth* Article declares that works done *before* Justification cannot possibly be *good* works, but that they have rather the nature of *sin*. Now this is positively *denied* in the seventh Canon made at the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent. Again, our twelfth Article says that *good* works follow *after* Justification; whereas, according to the tenets of the Church of Rome, there must, at least, be *some* good works which *precede* Justification. For the ninth Canon of the Sixth Session asserts, that man is *not* justified by Faith *alone*." . . . "But since the Church of Rome, while it denies Justification by *Faith only*, does not assert Justification by *Works only*, and our eleventh Article is frequently so explained, as to make it *include* Works, the Romanists have hence taken occasion to represent *our* doctrine of Justification as virtually agreeing with *their own*." The Bishop then proceeds to state their argument *in all its force*, and to confute it by showing the distinction between *justifying* Faith and a *lively* Faith. "Good works are the *natural* fruits of Faith; and therefore its *necessary* fruits, when Faith is become a *lively* or *productive* Faith. In *this* state, we have the same union of Faith and Works which the *Romanist* requires for Justification. But it is a *mistake*, that, according to the tenets of our Church, *justifying* Faith is a *lively* Faith. According to the tenets of our Church, it neither *is* nor *can be* such, and it is the want of *distinction* between *justifying* Faith and *lively* Faith, to which we may entirely ascribe the numerous inconsistencies and contradictions in which the Doctrine of Justification has, within these few years, been involved. When our twelfth Article asserts, that 'a *lively* Faith may be as evidently known as a tree is discerned by the *fruit*,' the Article alludes to works which, as there stated, 'follow *after* Justification,' and consequently had no share in the *causes* of Justification. Indeed, the *thirteenth* Article denies even the *possibility* of good works *before* Justification. The Faith, therefore, which had *previously* justified, cannot have been a *lively* or *productive* faith. For then it would have been a Faith, accompanied with good works, which, *before* Justification, cannot even *exist*. The doctrine of Justification, therefore, as maintained by the Church of *England*, is decidedly at variance with the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.

"If it be objected that this vindication of the Church of England from the charge of similarity with the Church of Rome, exposes the former to the charge of Antinomianism, I answer, that, although *Justification* in the sense of our Articles (the same also of St. Paul) does not require for its attainment the performance of good works; they are indispensably necessary for the attainment of *final and everlasting Salvation*. The distinction between *Justification* and final or everlasting *Salvation* is declared in the very *Exordium* of our first Homily; where it is said that Holy Scripture contains all necessary instruction 'for our Justification and everlasting Salvation.' Indeed, our final and everlasting salvation is our happiness in a *future state*,—in *that* state where our Saviour *himself* has declared that he will 'reward every man according to his *Works*.*' But our Justification takes place in the *present* life; it takes place at our *admission* to the Christian Covenant, for which nothing more is required than Repentance, whereby we forsake sin, and Faith, whereby we steadfastly believe *the promises of God*. On forsaking *sin*, therefore, we are justified by Faith, even *before* it is a lively faith, or before it has produced works *positively good*. But though the Faith which is sufficient to *justify*, is not a lively Faith, we must take care that it *becomes* so when we are justified; or our justification will be of no avail. And we must guard against the fatal error, that justifying Faith leads, *of necessity*, to good works. Good works are indeed its *natural* fruits; but they are not its *necessary* fruits till Faith is become a *lively* or *productive* Faith. And, as a *tree* may wither before it has produced its *fruits*, so *Faith* may wither before it has produced *good works*. But if it *does* wither, and good works are *not* produced, the Faith, which had *admitted* us to the Christian Covenant, will fail of its intended purpose; and we shall lose *everlasting salvation*. In this manner is the Church of England vindicated, on the one hand, from the charge of Antinomianism, while it is shown on the other hand to differ from the Church of Rome."†

* Matt. xvi. 27.

† Comp. View of the Churches of England and Rome. Camb. 1814. 8vo. pp. 49-53.

CHAPTER V.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

By an artful stratagem, the fifth Article of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. connects the doctrine of Sacrifice with that of Transubstantiation. The object of this artifice it is easy to discover; and it has had a powerful effect upon unlearned and indiscriminating, or prejudiced and timid minds. The doctrine of Sacrifice is primitive and Catholic; that of Transubstantiation is of recent date, and is *not* Catholic. I therefore claim the right of disjoining and viewing them separately.

Sacrifice is derived from two Latin words signifying the performance of sacred or holy rites. So the correlative word *sacerdos*, which we translate priest, signifies *one who is devoted to God for the performance of sacred rites or offices*. In like manner *Altare* an Altar, signifies an elevated place; and by the ancient Latins was used *exclusively* for the worship of the superior gods; *ara* being used for the worship both of superior and inferior divinities or deified mortals.* In Greek, the word *θυσία* is derived from *θύω* to slay, and must therefore have had respect originally to the slaughter of animals offered in sacrifice. But that it had long been used in a much more extended sense, so as to denote offerings in general, whether bloody or unbloody, is apparent from its application in the Greek translation of the Old Testament. The Hebrew word *מִנְחָה* *minchah* signifies an Oblation or Offering in general, whether bloody or unbloody; and for this word, *θυσία* is used by the LXX more than a hundred times. In Gen. iv. 3-5, the offering of Cain, as well as that of Abel, is called a sacrifice; and in the fourth and fifth verses, the version of the LXX reads thus: "And God looked upon Abel and his gifts; but to Cain and his sacrifices, he gave no heed." Hence, St. Paul, affirming that Abel offered in faith, says that his sacrifice was *more complete* than the sacrifice of Cain—more complete, in that it showed forth the merits of the Great Atonement by a bloody

* Virg. Buc. Ecl. V. vs. 65, 66, and Servius in loco.

offering. Both, however, were sacrifices.—So the remarkable passage in Malachi, allowed on all hands to be a prediction of the Christian Dispensation, affirms that "from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same—in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a pure offering.* In the original it is a pure *minchah*, and in the Greek, a pure *sacrifice*. The Greek word *ἱερέυς* like the Latin *sacerdos*, signifies a minister of holy things; and though the word *θυσιαστήριον* is like *θυσία* derived from *θύω*, yet it is used by St. Luke† for the Altar of Incense, where no victim was ever sacrificed.

Having thus defined our terms, the next object to be considered, must be the different kinds of sacrifices under that law which the Saviour came not to destroy but to fulfil.‡ These were four: the Holocaust or Whole-burnt-offering; the Sin-Offering; the Trespass-Offering; and the Peace-Offering. All these sacrifices were typical of blessings to man in and through the precious blood-shedding of Jesus Christ. The Holocaust or Whole-burnt-offering was voluntary§—the tribute of a grateful heart from man to his Maker, acknowledging the countless blessings of his providence bestowed through the merits of the one God-man. It denoted the voluntary devotion of himself with all his powers and faculties to the service of God, his heart wholly consumed in a flame of love, and ascending with grateful odour to the skies. Not so the Sin and Trespass-offerings. They were the acknowledgment of innumerable offences,—sins of commission and omission; and they were offered to a justly offended God, who is of purer eyes than even to behold iniquity, and who is reconciled to his guilty creatures only by the blood of his dear Son. They were exacted with the most rigid severity, though in different gradations, from the priest, the whole congregation, the civil ruler, and the private citizen. For every transgression of God's law, however minute, even in cases of involuntary ignorance, and where the individual only suspected that he had offended, a victim must be brought from the herd or from the fold. No exception but that of extreme poverty was allowed; and

* Mal. i. 11.

† Cap. i. 11.
§ Levit. i. 3.

‡ Matt. v. 17.

then two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, or if too poor even for these, an offering of fine flour* might be substituted. For the poorest, however, some victim must be offered, on which he was to lay his hand, confessing his sins, and transferring them, by that expressive symbol, to the innocent substitute. Its blood was then shed by the priest as an atonement or act of reconciliation for the sin of the offender, and God was pleased to forgive his sin and restore him to favour. The fourth kind of sacrifices could never be offered till *all sin and trespass-offerings had been paid*, the sinner justified or considered as righteous, and therefore restored to a state of peace and acceptance with God. For this reason they were called Peace-offerings, and were subdivided into voluntary, votive, and Eucharistic.† The LXX constantly translate *sacrifices of salvation*, where the Latin has *hostia pacificorum*, and our translation *offerings of peace*. The Eucharistic, are called *πρὸς αἰνέσις*, sacrifices of praise, where Aquila reads *εὐχαριστίας*, of thanksgiving.‡ The voluntary and the votive, were offered in supplication for future benefits; the Eucharistic, for those already obtained. Of the latter, the Psalmist speaks when he says: "Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam; et nomen Domini invocabo. . . . Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis, et nomen Domini invocabo."§ "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord.—I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord."|| But "it is not possible," as St. Paul argues, "that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore, when He cometh into the world he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: In burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo I come."¶ The quotation is from the Greek version of the fortieth, or, as it is there numbered, the thirty-ninth Psalm. A body was prepared for the Son, that He might come into

* Levit. v. 11.

† Levit. vii. 11, 12, 16.

‡ See Montf. Orig. Hexap. tom. i. pp. 527, 574.

§ In Lat. Ps. cxv.

|| In Heb. and Eng. Ps. cxvi. 12, 13, 17.

¶ Heb. x. 4-7.

the world, and by his own death for ever abolish all bloody rites. But the sacrifices which he abolished are *here expressly limited to the Holocausts, and the Sacrifices for sins*. As the Holocausts were voluntary, and not piacular or expiatory, St. Paul's argument in the ninth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews is limited to Sin-and-Trespas-offerings. The great day of Atonement was the Annual and most solemn Expiation of the sins of the whole nation. The High-Priest entered then once into the Holy of Holies, to prefigure thereby the ascension of Christ into Heaven. It was from its own nature an imperfect atonement, looking forward to that which was final and permanent. From the consideration of this general atonement, the Apostle proceeds to argue with respect to the case of *every priest*,* showing that *all sin-offerings whatsoever*, for individuals, as well the priests as the people, were for ever abolished by the death of Christ upon the Cross.

Oh what an immense relief was this to sinful man! Consider only the slavish fear with which every man must have watched his own conduct, when, for the minutest offence or neglect in the observance of so burdensome a law, he must bring a victim, valued according to his rank and station in society, before he could be justified and allowed to partake of the Peace-offerings, and thus feast with God as his friend! For the difference between the Sin-offerings and the Peace-offerings will be placed in still stronger light, when it is observed that *no offender could eat of his own Sin-offering*. When an individual Israelite sinned, he brought his victim to the priest; and, when the Lord's portion had been consumed, the *remainder was the priest's perquisite*. But when the High-Priest himself sinned, or the whole congregation sinned, *no part of the victim was eaten*, but after the Lord's portion was consumed on the altar, the whole of the remainder was carried out of the camp as a polluted thing, and there burned to ashes.† Jesus, our great High-Priest, was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners." He needed not to offer up sacrifice daily for his own sins,‡ and yet, as the great sin-offering for all his creatures, he bore the reproach of uncleanness, and "suf-

* Heb. x. 11.

† Levit. iv. 1-21.

‡ Heb. vii. 26, 27

ferred without the gate.”* What a load of sin is now removed! By the *one* baptism, corresponding with the *one* GREAT ATONEMENT, he hath washed us from our sins in his own blood; and by this application of his merits as a Sin-offering to our souls, He hath justified us freely by his grace.

As there was a great annual Sin-offering in the Jewish Church, so was there also a great annual Peace-offering—the Passover. In all the Peace-offerings, the justified man, being in a state of grace, was allowed to feast with his Maker. Even then, he laid his hand upon the head of his offering, to denote that though justified, he was still sinful, and owed every privilege to the all-atoning sacrifice of his Redeemer. But when the priest had slain the victim, and the Lord's portion had been consumed on the altar, the breast and the right shoulder only were given to the priest, and the remainder was returned to the offerer that he might feast upon the sacrifice.†

With the Peace-offerings were inseparably connected unleavened cakes and wafers of fine flour, the one mingled, the other anointed, with oil, and, excepting at the Passover, *leavened bread*.‡ The oil, as is well known, was a symbol of those gifts and graces which are poured forth by the Holy Spirit. At all these feasts, there was also commanded a drink-offering of wine.§ When therefore our Lord at the Passover, took the bread and wine, all the Evangelists who relate the transaction, as well as St. Paul in his account, use the expressive word *ἐὶςχαριστίαν*|| which is capable of an active and transitive signification. It appears from the history of the Institution, to be synonymous with *εὐλογίας*, and means that He then set them apart to be the Eucharistic oblation or the Sacrifice-of-praise-and-thanks-giving. Thenceforth they were to be substituted for the bloody Peace-offerings of the law, *presupposing* the great Sin-offering of the Cross, and *commemorative* of it, but not *repeating* it. The Eucharist is the voluntary, but not the piacular sacrifice of the Christian Church, perpetually praising the adorable mercies of our blessed Redeemer, and for ever thanking him for

* Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

† Comp. Levit. iii. and vii.

‡ Levit. vii. 11–13. § Levit. xxiii. 18. Numb. xxviii. 14, xxix. 39.

|| St. Mat. xxvi. 27. St. Mark xiv. 23. St. Luke xxii. 17, 19. St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24.

that one oblation of himself once offered, by which he “blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances,” by which we were condemned, “and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.”* This was the sense in which the ancient Church regarded the Eucharist as a sacrifice; and, if necessary, I might quote all the great writers, from the Apostolic age to the close of the fifth century, speaking of it as the Sacrifice-of-praise-and-thanks-giving, but never as piacular or expiatory in itself. When therefore the Council of Trent in 1551, passed their decrees on the sacrament of the Eucharist, they touched very lightly on the subject of sacrifice, because they were far from being agreed upon it;† and it was not till nearly eleven years after, and under another pontiff, Pius IV., that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist was finally determined. Even then, as Pallavicini himself acknowledges, great doubts were expressed, whether the Eucharist could be considered as a propitiatory sacrifice.‡ Seripando, who had now become a Cardinal, and presided in the Council as Legate, wished to *avoid the question entirely*, assigning as a reason, that it “*had been proposed and even examined in the Council, under Julius III.*,” i. e. in 1551, when the subject of the Eucharist was properly before them.§ Seripando saw clearly, that having passed the decree of *Transubstantiation*, they were caught on the horns of a dilemma with regard to *Sacrifice*. For if, at the moment in which the words *THIS IS MY BODY*, and *THIS IS MY BLOOD*, are pronounced by the priest, there is “a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread and wine into his body and blood,” then it must have been so, when our blessed Lord pronounced those words, or He was not then acting as a priest. If He did act as a priest, and the words pronounced did produce a transubstantiation, then while his body was still unbroken and his blood still unshed upon the cross, He held in his hands his own “*body and blood together with*” his own “*soul and divinity!*” And furthermore, He violated the law concerning sin-offerings, by ordering the *offenders* to eat the victim, and to drink his blood!

The vain attempt to reconcile such contradictions, occa-

* Col. ii. 14.

† Pallav. xii. cap. ii. num. 3.

‡ Pallav. xviii. c. i. num. 10.

§ Fleury, liv. 160, sec. xi.

sioned infinite embarrassments. The Fathers of the Council were divided into four classes: 1. Some maintained that Christ sacrificed himself for us in the Supper, and there offered a propitiatory sacrifice. 2. Others that he there offered a sacrifice, but only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; 3. A third class maintained that Christ offered himself to the Father in the Supper, but did not say in what manner; 4. And a fourth class tried to reconcile the rest, by proposing various expedients, all differing, and each defending his own.* As Pallavicini is extremely reserved, we must follow Fra Paolo and Fleury, in giving some account of the discussion, from the eleventh to the eighteenth of August, 1562.

Fra Paolo states that the Jesuit Salmeron made himself extremely busy in going privately among those who were known to be opposed, and especially those who had not yet declared their sentiments, to persuade the *former at least to be silent or to relax their opposition*, and the *latter to vote in the affirmative* on the question of the propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist. By these importunities, he made himself so troublesome, that several of the Bishops publicly complained of it. This account is confirmed in the secret correspondence of the Nuncio Visconti.† One of these, the Bishop of Veglia, spake with great force in the negative. He begged them to consider that *if a propitiatory sacrifice be once offered, and be sufficient to expiate, no other can be offered, excepting as an act of thanksgiving*. Whoever maintains a propitiatory sacrifice in the Supper, is absolutely obliged to confess that we are redeemed by that, and not by the death of Christ; contrary to Scripture and Christian doctrine, which ascribe redemption to the latter. If any one should say that it is all one, being begun in the Supper and finished on the Cross, he runs into another absurdity equally great, because it is a contradiction to say that the beginning of sacrifice is sacrifice; for if after the beginning, it had ceased and gone no further, no one would have said that He had sacrificed; and if Christ had not been obedient to the Father even unto the death of the Cross, but had only made oblation in the Supper,

* Pallav. lib. xviii. cap. 2, num. 1-4, 9, 10, 11.

† Fra Paolo St. lib. vi. sec. 49. Fleury, liv. 160, sec. 15.

it could not be said that we were redeemed. Wherefore it could not be said that such an oblation could be called a Sacrifice because it was the beginning of one. The Bishop added that he would not obstinately maintain that these reasons were unanswerable, but he would say that the Council ought not to bind the understandings of any who had so much reason for being persuaded of their opinion. He went on to say that as calling the Mass a Propitiatory sacrifice would make no difficulty with him, so he could not be satisfied if in any manner it should be affirmed that Christ offered. It was sufficient to say that He commanded the oblation, because, said he, if the Synod assert that Christ offered, it was either the Propitiatory sacrifice, and so he will fall into the above-mentioned difficulties, or it was not the Propitiatory, and so we cannot conclude from it that the Mass is propitiatory. Nay, it will be said on the contrary, that if the oblation of Christ in the Supper was not propitiatory, much less can that of the priest be so in the Mass. He concluded that it would be the safest way to say only that Christ commanded the Apostles to offer a Propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass. Fra Paolo adds that "the Bishop's speech had such an effect, as to make, as it were, the common opinion, that no mention should be made of a Propitiatory sacrifice offered by Christ in the Supper. His opinion, nevertheless, was finally embraced only by a part."* Pallavicini virtually admits that the Council were generally of this opinion, but were gained over, when he concludes thus: "The result was, that whereas many at the beginning were opposed to the declaration of this offering made by Christ of himself in any manner in the Supper, in the end, the very contrary of that which usually happens in the most subtle disputes took place—insomuch that almost all, even those who were most opposed to it, voted in the affirmative."†

Their whole embarrassment arose from the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In the ancient Church there was no difficulty. St. Chrysostom, commenting on St. John, xvii. 19, explains it as the act of oblation. "I sanctify myself," that is, *I offer to thee a sacrifice*.‡ Our Lord, acting as the High

* Fra Paolo, ut sup.

† Pallav. lib. xviii. c. 2, num. 12.

‡ S. Chrys. Op. ed. Montfauc. tom. viii. p. 484.

Priest, consecrated himself as the victim. After thus consecrating himself, and substituting for the bloody symbols under the law, the unbloody symbols of bread and wine, to be forever offered in remembrance of his death and passion, He laid aside for a time his Sacerdotal office, and appeared only as the Lamb of God, a meek and passive victim. He was offered by the Jewish High Priest, on the Altar of the Cross, and thus forever abolished all Sacrifice for sin. But he commanded his Apostles to offer up continually the Sacrifice-of-praise-and-thanksgiving, even to the end of the world.

This Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice is held by the Churches of the English Communion. The Canon of the London Synod of 1552, entitled "Of the perfect oblation of Christ made upon the Cross" is confined by its very terms to the Expiatory sacrifice. It agrees, in substance, with the XXXIst Article of 1562; and to show this agreement I place them side by side.

"Of the perfect oblation of Christ made upon the cross.

The offering of Christ made once for ever, is the perfect redemption, the pacifying of God's displeasure, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or sin, were forged fables, and dangerous deceits."—*Sparrow's Collection*, p. 50.

The substitution of "finished" for "made" in the title of the Article is remarkable, as occurring in the same year in which the doctrine of Sacrifice was discussed in the Council of Trent; and it clearly shows that the London Council considered the oblation as having been begun by our Saviour at the institution of the Eucharist. That Archbishop Cranmer, who drew up the original article of 1552, took the ancient and Catholic view of the subject, will be evident

31. Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross.

The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits."—*Sparrow's Collection*, p. 102.

from the following passage in his answer to Gardyner. The deposed Bishop of Winchester had quoted a passage from the History of the Council of Nice by Gelasius of Cyzicus, written about the year 476, which he had thus "englished:" 'Again in this godly table we should not in base and low consideration direct our understanding to the bread and cup set forth, but having our mind exalted, we should understand by faith to be situate in that table the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, sacrificed of the priests not after the manner of other sacrifices; and we receiving truly the precious body and blood of the same Lamb, to believe these to be the token of our resurrection; and for that we receive not much but a little, because we should know that not for saturity and filling, but for sanctification.*

To this Cranmer replies: "For answer to Nicene Council, it speaketh of a *Sacrifice of lauds and thanksgiving* which is made by the priest in the name of the whole church, and is the *Sacrifice as well of the people as of the priest*: this Sacrifice, I say, the Council of Nice speaketh of, but it speaketh not one word of the *Sacrifice propitiatory*, which never none made, but only Christ, nor he never made it any more than *once*, which was by his death. And where-soever Christ shall be hereafter, in heaven or in earth, *he shall never be sacrificed again*, but the church continually in remembrance of that *Sacrifice* maketh a *sacrifice of laud and praise*, giving evermore thanks unto him for that propitiatory Sacrifice. . . . And although Nicene Council call Christ the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, yet doth it not mean that by the Sacrifice of the priest in the mass, but by the Sacrifice of himself upon the Cross. But here, according to your accustomed manner, you alter some words of the Council, and add also some of your own. For the Council said not, that the Lamb of God is sacrificed of the priests not after the manner of other Sacrifices, but that he is sacrificed not after the manner of a Sacrifice. And in saying that Christ is sacrificed of the priest not like a Sacrifice, or after the manner of a Sacrifice, the Council in these words signifies a *difference between the Sacrifice of the*

* The passage may be found in Labbe Concilia, Vol. ii. col. 233. Hardouin, Vol. i. col. 428.

priest and the Sacrifice of Christ, which upon the Cross offered himself to be sacrificed, after the manner of a very Sacrifice, that is to say, unto death for the Sins of the world. Christ made the bloody Sacrifice which took away Sin, the priests with the Church make a Commemoration thereof with lauds and thanksgiving, offering also themselves obedient to God unto death. And yet this our sacrifice taketh not away our sins, nor is not accepted but by his Sacrifice. *The bleeding of him* took away our Sins, not the *eating of him*.*

In another place the Archbishop says: "That all men may the better understand this Sacrifice of Christ, which he made for the great benefit of all men, it is necessary to know the distinction and diversity of Sacrifices. One kind of Sacrifice there is, which is called a propitiatory or merciful Sacrifice, that is to say, such a sacrifice as pacifieth God's wrath and indignation and obtaineth mercy and forgiveness for all our sins, and is the ransom for our redemption from everlasting damnation. . . . Another kind of Sacrifice there is, which doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of them that be reconciled by Christ to testify our duties unto God, and to show ourselves thankful unto him; and therefore they be called sacrifices of laud, praise, and thanksgiving.

"The first kind of Sacrifice Christ offered to God for us; the second kind we ourselves offer to God by Christ. And by the first kind of Sacrifice Christ offered also us unto his Father: and by the second we offer ourselves and all that we have unto him and his Father."† Compare now this language of Cranmer with the Canon of the Mass, and the Office for the Communion as it was originally penned by him, the dictate of his deliberate and unbiassed judgment, and it will be seen that, while the idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice is there fully carried out, the idea of a Propitiatory sacrifice is carefully excluded.

Not so in the Roman Missal. The most superficial glance will show how prominent and all-pervading is the idea of Piacular sacrifices. And this constitutes its great corruption. No rule was more certain and unalterable than that of the Sin-offering, that the person or persons *for whom*

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, Vol. iii. p. 532-534.

† Jenkyns' Cranmer, Vol. ii. pp. 448, 449.

it was offered could not eat of the victim. When the priest offered for his own sin, the victim was never eaten but was burned without the camp.* And yet, in the Mass, by a strange inconsistency, the priest offers for *his own sins*, and then *eats* the flesh and *drinks* the blood of the victim. So when the offering was made for the whole congregation, the priests being included, the whole was burned without the camp.† When the priest offered for the sins of individuals *he* could eat, but *the offender* could not. The very thought, then, of a piacular sacrifice, naturally led to that of the priest's receiving *without the people* and *for the people*. He offers Christ for the living and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt. Well did the Article drawn up by Cranmer call such sacrifices "forged fables and dangerous deceits!" Well did the Article of 1562 substitute for "forged fables"—*blasphemous fables!* Solitary Masses by the priest; the neglect of the Communion by the people, because it was enough that the priest should partake, and thereby atone for their sins; the release of souls in purgatory, on paying the priest for saying these solitary masses;—all these frightful corruptions grew out of this one enormous error!

By the act of Edward VI., Anno 2 and 3, Cap. i., the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops, &c., were appointed to draw up a uniform service for the Communion, "*having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the primitive Church.*"‡ The profound acquaintance of Cranmer with Ancient Liturgies, enabled him to prepare an Office, many parts of which, in the opinion of a competent judge, can be traced back sixteen hundred years, and much to the Apostolic age.§

The leading principles of the English Liturgy, as a Eucharistic sacrifice, will be best explained by pointing out their connection with those of the Peace-offerings under the Levitical Law.

A Peace-offering of thanksgiving whenever made was *voluntary*, and always implied a feast upon the sacrifice.

* Lev. iv. 12.

† Lev. iv. 21.

‡ Gibson's Codex, tit. xi. cap. i. p. 295.

§ Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, ed. 2, vol. ii. p. 2.

It was to be eaten the same day in which it was offered, and none was to be left until the morning.* Hence it became necessary to provide beforehand how many should be present at the feast. For this reason, at the institution of the Passover, the lambs were to be chosen "according to the number of the souls.† So it was ordered in the English Ritual, that "So many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify their names to the curate, over night, or else in the morning afore the beginning of Matins, or immediately after." Matins or morning prayer is a distinct service, and was designed to be offered so long before the Communion as would allow of this notice being given; in order that the priest should not consecrate more of the elements than could be conveniently consumed.

It was ordered under the law that no unclean person should eat of the Peace-offering. "As for the flesh, all that be clean shall eat thereof;" and if any unclean person should eat of it, even that soul should be cut off from his people.‡ Hence it was that St. Paul, threatening the Corinthians for not discerning the Lord's body, tells them, "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep."§ And hence the English Ritual provided, that if any one of the persons who should thus signify their names to the curate, "be an open and notorious evil liver, so that the congregation by him is offended, or have doen any wrong to his neighbours by worde or dede, the curate shall call him and advertise hym in any wise not to presume to the Lorde's table, untill he have openly declared hymselfe to have truly repented and amended his former naughtie life," &c. All sacrifice for sin being for ever ended by the one oblation of Christ once offered, and that sacrifice having been applied to the soul in the one holy baptism, repentance, whereby we forsake sin, and a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death, and to be in charity with all men, are the requisites for our continual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

That the holy Communion should be a daily sacrifice wherever it could be so administered, and that as soon as the

* Levit. vii. 15.

† Levit. vii. 20, 21.

‡ Exod. xii. 4.

§ 1 Cor. xi. 30.

people could be led to seek it voluntarily, it should be administered on Sundays, and all other days for which a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel are appointed, is evident from the following directions: "In Cathedral churches or other places where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation once a month" (that is, the exhortation to those who are minded to receive the holy sacrament). "And in parish churches, upon the week days, it may be left unsayed. And if upon the Sunday or holy daye the people be negligent to come to the Communion, then shall the priest earnestly exhort his parishioners to dispose themselves to the receiving of the holy Communion more diligently," &c.

I have given these extracts to show where the real point of difference is between the Roman Missal, and the English Order, for the administration of the Lord's Supper. As it was drawn up at the Reformation, by Archbishop Cranmer, not from the modern Roman Missal, but from the *Ancient Anglo-Saxon Offices*, it breathes the spirit of all the primitive Liturgies. Subsequent changes were adventitious, the result of foreign influences; but the great principle, excluding all idea of propitiatory sacrifice, and reducing it to a simple sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, remains unaltered.

Such was the plan of the English reformation; a plan, which if it had not been checked and thwarted by contending factions, would have brought the Church back to her primitive fervour and purity. Its object was to restore the daily worship of all classes of people, from the monarch on his throne, to the beggar who knows not where to seek his next lodging or his next meal. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of them." Its object was to restore the voluntary homage of consenting hearts, the daily sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for the countless mercies of God in Christ Jesus, even to those who seem the most abject. It taught the people to make religion the daily business of their lives. Baptized into Christ, members of his mystical body, they are to offer themselves continually, a living Holocaust, holy and acceptable to God. Crucified with Christ, like him they must rise again to newness of life. The Holy Ghost, the

Spirit of love, presides as the vicegerent of Christ, invisibly but with an all potent energy over his body the Church.—His priests minister continually unto the people whom He hath committed to their charge, in prayer, in preaching the word, and in the Sacraments. Christ Jesus, our Great High Priest, offers up our spiritual sacrifices to the Holy Trinity, pleading for ever in our behalf the merits of the one great atonement. Never do his priests and people assemble on earth without his presence. "We have an altar whereof they have no right, to eat which serve the Tabernacle."*—As the body is strengthened by bread and wine, so is the soul refreshed by the mystical body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. "To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."†

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE REAL PRESENCE, AND TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

As usual Dr. Milner *assumes* the very point to be proved. He confounds the *doctrine of the Real Presence with Transubstantiation*. But he and his brethren are to be excused; because they are *bound by a dreadful oath* to follow the Council of Trent; and the Council of Trent commands them to make this assumption under pain of Anathema. In the thirteenth session held on the eleventh of October, 1551, in the decree concerning the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, the first chapter denounces the denial of the truth of Christ's body and blood, which they assume to be Transubstantiation, as a flagitious and Satanic act by impious men, against the universal sense of the Church. And then in the fourth chapter, the Council professes to declare anew *what was always the persuasion of the Church of God*, that "by the Consecration of the bread and wine a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is suitably

* Heb. xiii. 10.

† Heb. xiii. 16.

and properly called by the holy Catholic Church, Transubstantiation."*

The sophism can be detected only by disjoining the two subjects, which are entirely and essentially different.

Sec. 1. *The Real Presence.*

When our Lord, before his last Passover, was preparing his sorrowful disciples for his approaching departure, he promised not to leave them comfortless, or as it is in the original Greek, and in the margin of the English Bible, *orphans*. "I will," said he, "come to you. Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also. At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. Judas saith unto him, (not Iscariot,) Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world? Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."† This promise was made not to the Apostles only, but to *all* who know that *Christ is in the Father*, that is, *in the unity of the Godhead*; and *they in him*, that is, *in his body the Church*; and *he in them*, that is, *who have his commandments and keep them*.

But how was all this to be? It is explained in the preceding verses.‡ "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever." In our translation it is, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another *Comforter*." That the idea of Comfort or Consolation is included in the Greek word Paraclete, no one will deny; but it means also, an advocate or intercessor, and is so translated 1 John ii. 1: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus

* Can. et Dec. Conc. Trident. ed. Ald. Romæ, 1564, lxii-iv.!

† St. John xiv. 18-23.

‡ "Et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in æternum."

Christ the righteous."* In the original it is *Paraclete*. Christ Jesus, the Comforter, was about to ascend in his human nature, to be the all-powerful advocate or intercessor for his Church with the Father. But before his departure bodily, he promised his Church to send *another* Comforter or Paraclete. And hence, on the last great day, at the feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn preceding his passion,† "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this," adds St. John, "spake he of the Spirit which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified."‡

The personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost, his perpetual presence in the Church on earth, is the perpetual and real presence of the whole blessed and undivided Trinity. A great part of the bliss of Paradise proceeded from the intimate union of man with God, in whose image and likeness he was created. That bliss was lost by the fall, but restored through the mediation of Jesus Christ; and from the moment of that gospel promise, the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, to the ascension of the risen Saviour, the second person of the Trinity, and in him the whole Trinity, was ever present with his Church: first in the patriarchal age by the visible glory of Jehovah between the cherubim;§ and then under the law, by that same glory resting on the Ark; and lastly, after his incarnation, in the person of the God-man Christ Jesus. When he ascended up on high to present himself as the Lamb that had been slain,|| he sent the third person of the Trinity, God the Holy Ghost, to preside over his mediatorial kingdom, till the last enemy shall be destroyed, till He shall come again in glory to deliver up that kingdom to the Father, and God the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall be all in all.¶ As the

* Vulg. "Si quis peccaverit, *advocatum* habemus apud Patrem."

† See the Author's Harmony. Chron. Introd. to the History of the Church, p. 576. The Feast of Tabernacles lasted that year from the first to the eighth of October.

‡ "Nondum enim erat Spiritus datus, quia Jesus nondum erat glorificatus." St. John vii. 37-39.

§ Gen. iii. 24.

|| Rev. v. 6.

¶ 1 Cor. xv. 24-28,

Father and the Holy Ghost were with the Son, in their ineffable unity *before* his ascension; so *from* his ascension, till he shall come again in like manner, are the Father and the Son present with the Holy Ghost, in the same ineffable unity. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him"*

In speaking of the discussions in the Council of Trent on Justification, I mentioned as a concession of Pallavicini, that the schools had *abandoned the doctrine of Peter the Lombard*, during the four centuries intervening between him and that Council. (See pp. 145, 148.) His words are these: "Fra Lorenzo Mazzocchio, a Servite, was the *only one who followed the opinion attributed to the Master of the Sentences*, ABANDONED BY THE SCHOOLS, that *grace is not a thing interior in us, but the exterior assistance of the Holy Ghost*. He, together with Fra Gregorio, of Siena, Dominican, Fra Gregorio Peretto, of Padua, Augustinian, and another of the same religious order, were of opinion as to the second head, that free-will concurs *passively* and not *actively* with the work of Justification; which opinion was not esteemed Catholic. The Legates, therefore, wrote to Rome, that all the Theologians, *except three or four*, had spoken in a Catholic manner."†

The mission of the Holy Ghost is defined by the Master of the Sentences, to be the *temporal*, in order to distinguish it from the *eternal* procession, the point of dispute between the Latins and the Greeks,—"*the temporal procession from the Father, the Son, and himself, by which He is sent and given to the faithful*." The Holy Ghost is the love of the Father and the Son, by whom they mutually love one another and us. The Holy Ghost himself is love or charity, by which we love God and our neighbour; when this charity is so in us that it makes us love God and our neighbour, then the Holy Ghost is said to be sent and given to us. And whosoever loves that love by which he loves his neighbour, *in him God loves; for love itself is God, and the Holy Ghost himself*." He then proceeds to give the following authorities from St.

* St. John xiv. 21.

† Pallav. lib. viii. cap. iv. 2.

Augustine on the Trinity:* "Whosoever loves his neighbour, must consequently love principally that which is love itself. Now God is love; and therefore it follows that he must principally love God." And again: "God is love, as John the Apostle says. Why then do we go and hasten into Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, in search of Him who is with us if we are willing to be with Him?† Let no one say, I know not what I should love. Let him love his brother, and he will love Love itself. For he knoweth more the Love by which he loves, than the brother whom he loves. Behold he can now know God more than his brother; know more plainly, because He is *more present*; know more, because He is *more within him*; know more, because He is more sure. To embrace God-love, is by love to embrace God.‡ That is love which binds in one society all good angels and all the servants of God with the bond of sanctity."

I forbear to multiply quotations from St. Augustine, and shall merely observe that, throughout his work on the Trinity, he quotes the Scriptures continually to prove that the love of God and man is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. We know that all things work together for good to them that love God; and that love is wrought in us by the Spirit. It is impossible for us to love God without loving our neighbour; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?§ The doctrine of Peter the Lombard is the doctrine of St. Augustine; and the doctrine of St. Augustine is evidently that of St. Paul and St. John.

But this work of the Spirit in our hearts is a progressive work. "That renovation," says St. Augustine, "is not produced in one moment of conversion, as the renovation in baptism, which, in one moment is produced by the remission of all our sins.—It is one thing to be free from fevers, another to grow strong from the weakness which fevers have occasioned. It is one thing to draw forth the weapon infixed in our body, another to cure the wound it has made.—This is

* Lib. viii. c. vii. 10.

† C. viii. 12.

‡ The text of the sentences is "amplectere proximum;" but the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine, whom I follow, read "amplectere Deum."
§ 1 John iv. 20.

done by daily approaches. 'Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.* In the recognition of God, that is, in true righteousness and true holiness, he who is renewed from day to day, transfers love from things temporal to things eternal, from things visible to things clearly understood, from things carnal to things spiritual. But all this is done by divine assistance; for it is the sentence of God, 'Without me, ye can do nothing.' By this advancement and approach, when the last day of this life shall overtake him who holds the faith of the Mediator, he shall be brought to that God whom he worshippeth, and being perfected by him, shall be received by holy Angels at the end of the world, with a body incorruptible, not to pain, but to glory. In this image, the likeness of God will then be perfected, when the vision of God shall be perfect."†

Such is the doctrine of the Real presence; a presence of Him who is the fountain of Love, and who operates continually on us by the means which Christ himself appointed. By his commission, the Apostolic ministry, to be continued to the end of the world, is called, and sanctified, and separated to the work of the Holy Ghost. They preach the Word, and the Holy Ghost opens the deaf ear, and gives sight to the blinded heart. They administer holy Baptism, and the Omnipotent Spirit washes the soul with the blood of Christ. They consecrate the bread and wine, and the Holy Ghost makes it, to every penitent and faithful heart, what Christ, at the institution of the Sacrament pronounced it to be, the body and the blood of Him who died for the forgiveness of our sins. "The cup of blessing which we bless," says St. Paul, "is it not the communion (the communication and the joint participation) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?"‡ Hence, Archbishop Cranmer says, excellently well: "Although, in the truth of his human nature, Christ be in heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, yet whosoever eateth of that bread in the Supper of the Lord, according to Christ's institution and ordinance, is assured of Christ's

* 2 Cor. iv. 16.

† S. Aug. de Trinitate, lib. xiv. cap. xvii. 23, ed. Bened. Antwerp. tom. ix. 682.

‡ 1 Cor. x. 16.

own promise and testament, that he is a member of his body, and receiveth the benefits of his passion which he suffered for us upon the cross. And likewise, he that drinketh of that holy cup in that supper of the Lord, according to Christ's institution, is certified by Christ's legacy and testament that he is made partaker of the blood of Christ which was shed for us." And again: "Christ ordained the Sacrament to move and stir all men to friendship, love, and concord, and to put away all hatred, variance, and discord, and to testify a brotherly and unfeigned love between all them that be the members of Christ; but the Devil, the enemy of Christ and of all his members, hath so craftily juggled herein, that of nothing riseth so much contention as of this holy Sacrament."*

As, therefore, God the Holy Ghost is essentially LOVE, and is sent to dwell in the Church for the purpose of diffusing this love in all hearts, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is constantly administered by Him, as a most effectual means of increasing and strengthening the love which He sheds abroad in our souls. And although his ministers cannot discern the thoughts and intents of men's hearts, and may therefore administer to the wicked as well as the good, yet the Holy Ghost searcheth the hearts and reins, and He only it is who can make the outward elements the means of inward and spiritual grace. "If these three," says Bishop Andrewes, "Prayer, the Word, the Sacraments, be every one of them as an Artery to convey the Spirit into us, well may we hope, if we use them all three, we shall be in a good way to speed of our desires. For, many times we misse when we use this one or that one alone; where, it may well be, God hath appointed to give it us by neither, but by the third. It is not for us to limit or appoint Him how or by what way He shall come unto us and visit us; but to offer up our obedience in using them all; and using them all, He will not faile but come unto us, either as a *wind* to allay in us some *unnaturall heat*, of some distempered *desire* in us to *evill*; or as a *fire* to kindle in us some *lute-warm* or some *key-cold affection* in us to *good*: come unto us, either as the *Spirit of Truth*, lightning us with some new *knowledge*, or as

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 295, 297.

the *Spirit of Holinesse*, reviving in us some virtue or *grace*; or as the *Comforter*, ministring to us some inward *contentment* or *joy in the Holy Ghost*; or in one or other certainly He will come. For a compleat obedience on our part in the use of all His prescribed means, never did goe away empty from Him, or without a blessing: never did, nor never shall."*

When therefore Dr. Milner affirms,† "that the first and main question to be settled between Catholics and Church Protestants," as he chooses to designate the Roman and English Communions, "is concerning the *real or figurative presence* of Christ in the sacrament," he entirely misleads his readers. His subsequent attempt to fasten on the English Communion the charge of "*disguising their real tenets*," because they maintain that "the body and blood of Christ are *verily and indeed* (vere et realiter) taken and received by the *faithful* in the Lord's Supper," is in the highest degree *disingenuous* and *dishonest*. What motive have they for disguise? The Catechism and the Article of 1552 and 1562, speak but one language. To such as receive *rightly, worthily and with faith*," says the Article—"taken and received by the *faithful*," says the Catechism. The language is discreet and guarded. The Holy Ghost, the searcher of the heart of man, makes the Sacrament, "the most blessed body and blood," or conveys "all the benefits of Christ's passion" to the soul of the *faithful* recipient. They who lead wicked lives, and yet lie to the Holy Ghost, by receiving the outward elements, eat and drink to their own condemnation. What a powerful mean of grace is it to the one! What a fearful anticipation of the last judgement is it to the other!

The confusion and inconsistency and craft which Dr. Milner so liberally attributes to the Church of England, exists nowhere but in making the Real presence inseparable from Transubstantiation. As usual he quotes Burnet, p. ii. 6, 1, which, in the edition before me, occupies 172 folio pages (!) as his authority for the single assertion, that the first communion service clearly expresses the Real presence, and that 'the whole body of Christ is received under each particle of the Sacrament.' I have taken the pains to track him, and find that he has misrepresented Burnet. The historian

* Ninety-six Sermons, Lond. 1631, fol. p. 607. † Letter XXXVII.

merely says:—The Bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the Breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the people were to be taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were small or great, but that in each of them, they received the whole body of Christ.* Before the Reformation, the wafer was put *whole* into the mouth of the recipient, the priest having broken *only one* during the Consecration. Now it was ordered to break "*every one*," and the people were to be informed that the quantity of outward element, made no difference as to the reality or efficacy of the inward and spiritual grace, as applied to the souls of the faithful by the power of the Holy Ghost. Such is our doctrine now as it was then; but under the transmuting power of Dr. Milner, all authors, ancient and modern, speak just what he wishes them to say. "Afterwards, when the Calvinistic party prevailed," says he, "the 29th of the Forty-two Articles of religion drawn up by the same prelates, and published in 1552, expressly denies the Real presence, and the very possibility of Christ's being in the Eucharist, since he has ascended up to Heaven." Marvellous inconsistency to deny in 1552 what they had asserted in 1548! But softly, good sir! The denial in 1552, was not of the *Real presence*, but of *Transubstantiation*. Aye, but "ten years afterwards," says our author, Elizabeth being on the throne, who patronized the Real presence—this declaration against the Real and Corporal presence of Christ was left out, &c." Real and Corporal presence! See how slyly the word *corporal* is here introduced to make his readers confound *corporal* and *real*, and thus think that Queen Elizabeth secretly believed in Transubstantiation! That wise princess believed in the Real presence, though not in the Corporal; but she knew that many of her subjects believed, if not in Transubstantiation, at least in Consubstantiation, and she therefore was willing to remove all stumbling-blocks in their way, and thus if possible prevent schism. The subsequent changes were made when the perverse conduct of the Popes had already created a schism, and the intrigues of their secret emissaries, disguised as Puritans, conspired to ruin the English Reformation.

* Burnet, 3d ed. Dublin, 1731, vol. ii. p. 50.

Dr. Milner next proceeds to strengthen his charge of inconsistency, by adducing the celebrated passage in the sixth chapter of St. John. The Real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he affirms, is "manifestly and emphatically expressed therein"—taking Scripture "in its plain and literal sense." Without entering into a question which has created so much controversy, let us admit, what Dr. Milner so confidently affirms; and let us admit it because Archbishop Cranmer did the same. In his "Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ;" a treatise dedicated to King Edward VI., in 1553, a year after the time when, according to Dr. Milner, he denied the Real presence, he says: "As the body liveth by meat and drink, and thereby increaseth and groweth from a young babe unto a perfect man, (which thing experience teacheth us,) so the Soul liveth by Christ himself, by pure faith, eating his flesh and drinking his blood. And this Christ himself teaches us in the sixth of John, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you.* Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. *For my flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; even so, he that eateth me shall live by me. And this St. Paul confessed of himself, saying, That I have life, I have it by faith in the Son of God. And now it is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me.*"*

All this is perfectly intelligible, if the Holy Ghost makes the outward elements convey the benefits of our Lord's passion, to every soul whom *He sees* to have a *true, lively, and productive faith*. For, as the Archbishop proceeds to say in his sixteenth chapter, "This spiritual meat of Christ's body and blood, is not received in the mouth and digested in the stomach, (as corporal meats and drinks commonly be,) but it is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. And the true eating and drinking of the said body and blood of Christ, is with a constant and a lively faith to believe, that

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 301.

Christ gave his body and shed his blood upon the cross for us, that he is our head, and we his members, and flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, having him dwelling in us and we in him. And herein standeth the whole effect and strength of this Sacrament. *And this faith God worketh inwardly in our hearts by his Holy Spirit*, and confirmeth the same outwardly to our ears, by hearing of his word, and to our other senses, by eating and drinking of the Sacramental bread and wine in his Holy Supper.*

So far then is this passage, in its plain and literal meaning from *upholding* the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that it is directly *opposed* to it. For our Lord, perceiving that some of his disciples murmured at what he had said, vouchsafed to add, "What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before?—ascend in his proper body into heaven? It is the Spirit that quickeneth;" the Spirit operating upon the Soul. "THE FLESH PROFITETH NOTHING; the words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life."† The disciples to whom our Lord addressed these words, knew no more what his Ascension meant, than they knew how he would give them his flesh to eat, or his blood to drink. Subsequent events unfolded his meaning. His Ascension bodily, proved to the faithful, in the language objected to by Dr. Milner, "as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man, cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place;" and, "therefore, the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and divers places."‡ *The flesh profiteth nothing.* Such carnal eating, even if it were possible, would not promote the object for which the body of Christ was broken, and his blood poured out. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth or giveth life.* The Holy Ghost conveys life to the faithful soul. *My words are Spirit and Life.* They are to be understood in a *spiritual*, not in a gross and carnal sense. Therefore "Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, cannot be proved by" this, or by any other passage of "holy writ."§ The *Real*

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, ut sup. p. 306. † St. John vi. 62, 63.

† Art. of the Lord's Supper, 1552. Sparrow, p. 49. § Art. ut sup.

presence may be proved by it, but not the *Corporal presence*.

All the quotations which Dr. Milner produces, or to which he refers, from St. Ignatius in the Apostolic age, to the "illustrious doctors of the fourth and fifth ages," prove that the doctrine of the "Real presence" is primitive and Catholic, but do not prove that "Transubstantiation" is so. St. Ignatius was arguing against the Docetæ, who maintained that the body of our Lord was a phantom, not a reality. This tenet led them to forsake the Eucharist and the prayers of the Church. "They abstain," says the holy martyr, "from the Eucharist and prayer, that they may not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which having suffered for our sins, the Father in his goodness, hath raised up."* "They do not admit of eucharists and oblations because they do not believe the Eucharist to be the flesh," &c., says Dr. Milner's translation! But Dr. Milner's acquaintance with Greek seems to have been very slender. The *real presence* of Christ's human nature, as crucified for us, and raised from the dead, as it is applied to our souls, by the Holy Ghost in the blessed Sacrament, the Docetæ could not believe, because they did not believe in that human nature. We may infer from this passage that St. Ignatius understood St. John vi. 51, "the bread that I will give is my flesh," as descriptive of the Eucharist, but we are as far off as ever from any proof that he believed in *Transubstantiation*.

The homilies of Origen upon Leviticus, from which Dr. Milner next quotes, have come down to us only in a Latin translation, with which language the learned polemic was more familiar than with Greek. He has made a small mistake, however, in quoting the words of a Homily upon Numbers, as a Homily upon Leviticus. But let that pass. I must give the words of Rufinus, the translator of Origen, in the margin, to show the liberties which Dr. Milner takes even with Latin authors.* "Manna was formerly given as a

* S. Ign. ad Smyrn. sec. 7.

† "Tunc in ænigmatæ erat manna cibus, nunc autem in specie caro Verbi Dei est verus cibus, sicut et ipse dicit, (St. John vi. 56,) quia caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus." Orig. in Numeros Hom. VII. Ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 290, A.

figure;" translates Dr. Milner, "but now the flesh and blood of the Son of God is *specifically* given and is real food." Dear Reader! I love always to see what an author means to show; and for that reason I love to connect my quotations with the context. Did Dr. Milner do this? Or did he quote the naked sentence from his scrap-book? You shall see.

Origen, in his fanciful way of interpretation, is commenting upon the mutiny of Aaron and Miriam, on account of the Ethiopian woman whom Moses had married, as recorded in the twelfth chapter of Numbers. Miriam, says Origen, means the Synagogue; Aaron, the Priests and Pharisees; the Ethiopian woman, the Gentile Church. Moses, the spiritual law, marries her, and is therefore spoken against by the ancient people and the Levitical priesthood. God confirms the marriage with the Ethiopian, and inflicts the leprosy of sin upon Miriam; a leprosy, however, which will be removed when a week of the world is completed, and the fulness of the gentiles being come in, all Israel shall be saved. All these things, as the Apostle says, happened unto them in a figure, and are written for our admonition. Not only the Jews but the heretics who do not receive the law and the prophets, detract from Moses. So also members of the Church, who detract from their brethren, and speak evil of their neighbours, and in my (Origen's) opinion, every one who badly understands the writings of Moses, and receives the spiritual law in a carnal sense. But Moses is never so much praised by God, as when he is spoken against by men. Hear what the Holy Ghost says in praise of Moses—and then he quotes Numb. xii. 5–10. Before Moses married the Ethiopian, it is not written that God spake to him "*in specie*" (which Dr. Milner translates *specifically*) and not "*in ænigmate*" (which Dr. Milner translates, *as a figure*). The allusion is to the eighth verse thus rendered in the Douay Bible, "for mouth to mouth I speake to him: and *plainly* and not by *riddels* and figures doth he see the Lord." Our translation is "*apparently* and not in *dark speeches*;" the Vulgate, "*palam et non per ænigmata et figuras*;" Ruffinus "*in specie et non ænigmate*." Origen then proceeds: "It is only when Moses comes to us and is joined to this our Ethiopian, that the law of God is no longer in

figures and images as before, but is fulfilled plainly and truly 'in ipsa specie veritatis,' in the form itself of truth." And then to show the difference between the form of truth, and the form of figures and ænigmata, he quotes 1 Cor. x. 1–4, ending with "and that rock was Christ." "You see," he adds, "how Paul solves the ænigmata of the law and teaches the *species* of the ænigmata, and says that the Rock was with Moses in ænigma, before he was joined to this our Ethiopian. Now Christ the rock is *in specie*; for now God speaks mouth to mouth by the law. Before, baptism was *in ænigmate* 'in the cloud and in the sea;' but now regeneration is *in specie*, in water, and in the Holy Ghost. Then *in ænigmate* was the manna food; but now *in specie* the flesh of the Word of God is the true food, as he himself saith, for my flesh is truly food and my blood is truly drink."*

Now did Dr. Milner read his *author*, or did he read the *naked period*, culled and laid up in the treasury of his scrap-book? A man of his latinity should have seen how Ruffinus used the phrase *in specie* to denote what the Vulgate means by *palam*, openly or plainly. He should not, therefore, have rendered it *specifically*. All that Origen meant to say was that the baptism in the cloud and in the sea, and the manna eaten in the wilderness, were adumbrations of the two Christian sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. Is not this passage then a clear proof that Origen received the doctrine of the Real-presence, but not that of Transubstantiation? If the bread eaten in the wilderness was a figure, representing the flesh of the Word of God, because our Lord said that my flesh is truly food, &c., it will be hard to show that Origen believed in the destruction of the substance of bread and wine in the Eucharist.

I might thus, if it were not for swelling my book, and perhaps wearying my reader's patience, proceed to comment on all "the clear and beautiful testimonies for the Catholic doctrine" of which Dr. Milner speaks; and which I admit prove the belief of the REAL-PRESENCE, but not the belief of *Transubstantiation*, in the ancient Church. The whole force of Dr. Milner consists in bringing loose translations of detached and startling passages. Thus he selects from the writings

* St. John vi. 55.

of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Ambrose of Milan, two arguments for the Real-presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, derived from the divine power of changing water into wine at Cana, and the rod of Moses into a serpent, and the creation of the world by Christ from nothing into something. These are what logicians call arguments *a fortiori*. But the same writers use expressions, which Dr. Milner has passed over in silence, but which incontestably show that they had no such meaning as he imputes to them. Thus, *if he had read his author*, he would have found immediately after the passage he had quoted, the following: "Christ conversing one day with the Jews, said, 'Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have not life in yourselves.*' They not understanding spiritually the things spoken, were offended and went backward, supposing that they were urged to eat his flesh."† So in the *same book*, and at the *end of the very same chapter* which Dr. Milner quotes from St. Ambrose, that ancient father says thus: "The Church, seeing so much grace, exhorts her children, &c. to hasten to the sacraments." He then quotes Solomon's Song v. 1, and Psalm xxxiv. 8; after which he adds: "In that sacrament is Christ, because it is the body of Christ. It is not therefore *corporal* but *spiritual* food. Hence the apostle says of its type, 'Our fathers ate the spiritual meat and drank the spiritual drink.'‡ For the body of God is a spiritual body. The body of Christ is the body of the divine Spirit; because the spirit is Christ, as we read Lament. iv. 20.§ And in the Epistle of Peter we have, 'Christ died for us.'|| Finally, that meat strengthens our heart, and that drink, as the prophet relates, 'maketh glad the heart of man.'¶ By turning to the Psalm thus quoted, the reader will see that the psalmist, the prophet here spoken of, speaks of *wine* as making glad the heart of man. St.

* St. John vi. 53.

† S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. xxii. 4. Ed. Bened. p. 320, 321.

‡ 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

§ "Spiritus ante faciem nostram, Christus Dominus." The Vulgate reads Spiritus oris nostri, and our translation, the breath of our nostrils. It is necessary to inform the English reader, as the reason of these differences, that in Hebrew *breath* and *spirit* are one word.

|| 1 Pet. ii. 21.

¶ Psalm civ. 15. S. Ambrosii de Mysteriis, c. ix. 58. Ed. Bened. tom. ii. col. 341.

Ambrose therefore in applying the psalmist's words to the *wine* which had become the *spiritual blood* of Christ, evidently showed, by his silence on the subject, that he knew nothing of Transubstantiation.

The doctrine of the ancient Catholic Church, before the great schism at the close of the fifth century, was that which I have now shown to be held by the Churches of the English Communion. The Holy Ghost, and in Him the ever blessed Trinity, presides over the Church, giving efficacy to all her ministrations. His presence it is, which makes the outward symbols of bread and wine, the spiritual body and blood of Christ. Hence, in all the ancient Liturgies, excepting the Roman and Italian, the oblation of the elements, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, were most solemnly and expressly made;* and I can never be sufficiently thankful, that, in this respect, Archbishop Cranmer's first Communion service has been restored in the American Prayer Book. It was, as I have observed, the production of his unbiassed mind; and was changed, in imitation of that drawn up more in accordance with the Roman ritual, by Hermann the Archbishop of Cologne. The change was not for the better. I do not say that the omission of this invocation, in the Roman and the present English rituals, invalidates the consecration; but I say, that the first Communion Office of Cranmer, more completely avoids the error of substituting the *carnal* and *corporal*, for the *real* and *spiritual* presence. It acknowledges that presence to consist, not in flesh and blood, but in the efficacy given to the sacramental elements by the Holy Ghost.

Sec. 2. Transubstantiation.

A most sound divine and most judicious author, to whom the American Church is more indebted than she is aware, has the following reflections upon our present subject:† "As the sacrament of the Lord's Supper holds the most prominent

* See Palmer's Antiquities, ed. 2, vol. ii. 135-140.

† Theological Works of the late Rev. John Skinner: Aberdeen, 1809, vol. i. pp. 310, 311. It was by Mr. Skinner's advice and influence that the Scottish Bishops finally resolved to consecrate Bishop Seabury.

place in the Christian system, so has it, in these latter days, been the subject of more contention, and has occasioned more divisions and separations among men professing themselves Christians, than any other article of faith whatever. At first received throughout the Church with the utmost humility of mind and soul, and celebrated with the most reverent simplicity of devotion, the holy eucharist answered all the beneficial purposes intended by it. By degrees, however, and exactly in proportion to the advance made by the Aristotelian philosophy in Europe, did this divine institution become the subject of metaphysical inquiry; until, instead of the venerable depth of mystery in which the Holy Scriptures had recorded the history of it, and in which the primitive Church had long observed it, the Supper of our Lord came to be examined and defined by the newly introduced distinctions of *genus* and *species*, of *substance* and *accidents*, of *quid* and *quomodo*, and such like inapplicable subtleties, as the invention of monastic idleness, set to work by the assumed principles of Aristotle, led men to adopt. The issue was such as the Church of Rome, by its Sovereign Authority, thought fit at length to determine. By the decision of the General Councils of Lateran and Trent, the point of faith was completely settled; and the whole controversy, by the fiat of Rome, became compressed, not into a *volume*, not into a *sentence*, but into *one single newly coined vocable*—TRANSUBSTANTIATION."

Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of London, who flourished from A. D. 1160 to 1167, and died about A. D. 1200, is said to have been the first who applied the term of Transubstantiation to the Holy Eucharist.* Although, by the Confession of Bellarmine himself, Paschasius Radbertus, who flourished in A. D. 844, was "the first author who seriously and copiously" maintained the *doctrine*,† yet the *word* was not invented till more than 300 years later. Both the *doctrine* and the *name* were of Latin origin. The Greek Church never had in their language so much as a word which could be

* Cave Hist. Litt. tom. ii. p. 234.

† Bellarmine as quoted by Cave, ut sup. p. 32. The passage from the first chapter of the work of Paschasius on the Body and Blood of the Lord, in which he lays down his doctrine, is given by Cave. I have collated it with the work itself published by the Benedictines Martene and Durand, Vet. Script. tom. ix. p. 383, and find it correct.

construed to signify what the Council of Trent ascribed to the word Transubstantiation; a word, nevertheless, which in the decree is said, to be used by the Holy Catholic Church!

In the interval between the *invention* of the *doctrine* and the *coinage* of the *word*, many and various were the opinions of the Latin divines on the subject. Of Ratramnus or Bertram, I need not say much, as his treatise "on the body and blood of the Lord" has been lately published, and is therefore accessible to my readers. He was somewhat older than his fellow-countryman Paschasius Radbertus, and both lived together at Corbie, in the same monastery. He wrote at the request of the Emperor Charles the Bald, to whom he addressed his work. The object of the Emperor was to settle his own mind as to what was the Catholic faith, and to allay diversities of opinion among his subjects upon a question which had then begun to be agitated. The choice of Ratramnus for this purpose by his Sovereign, shows how highly he was estimated among his contemporaries. Indeed the Abbot John Trithemius, even so late as towards the end of the fifteenth century, speaks of him as learned in the Scriptures, and equally esteemed for the purity of his doctrine and of his life. The opinion of Ratramnus, then, must well have outweighed that of Paschasius.

After a short and modest introduction, stating the subject and occasion of his treatise, he proposes the question, and to avoid ambiguity, defines his terms. He admits that a great many persons had departed from the Catholic and Orthodox faith concerning this Sacred Mystery; for which reason he proceeds to support that faith, by the authority of Scripture, the light of reason, the testimony of the senses, the doctrine of the most distinguished fathers, and by the practice and express language of the ritual as used by the Church in his day. It would be doing injustice to this excellent author, were I to attempt an analysis of his argument within the short space here allowed me. I must therefore select only a single extract, in which he considers the analogy of the two Sacraments, earnestly recommending to my reader the perusal of the whole treatise.

"Let us consider the fountain of holy Baptism, which not undeservedly is called the fountain of life, because it forms anew those who descend into it, by the newness of a

better life, and grants to those who were dead by sin, to be living unto righteousness. Does it obtain this efficacy from the element of water which it is seen to be? Unless it obtained a sanctifying virtue, it could never wash away the soil of sins; and unless it contained the vigour of life, it could in no wise be able to give life to the dead; dead I mean, not in the flesh, but in the soul. Yet in that fountain, if only what the bodily sense perceives be considered, it is but a fluid element, subject to corruption, and capable only of cleansing the body. But *the virtue of the Holy Ghost comes to it by the consecration of the priest*, and it becomes efficacious to wash not only bodies but also souls, and to remove spiritual pollutions by a spiritual power. Lo! in one and the self-same element we behold two things which seem to be incompatible; that which is subject to corruption, conveying incorruption; and that which has not life, contributing life. It is acknowledged, therefore, that there exists in that fountain something which the bodily sense perceives, and which is therefore mutable and corruptible; and also something which *faith alone perceives*, and which can therefore neither be corrupted nor perish. If you ask what washes outwardly, it is an element; but if you weigh well the *internal cleansing*, it is a life-giving virtue, a virtue of sanctification, a virtue of immortality. In its proper nature it is corruptible water; but in the mystery it is a healing virtue.

"So also the body and blood of Christ, if considered only outwardly, is a creature subject to mutability and corruption. But if you weigh well the *virtue of the mystery*, it is life-conveying immortality to those who partake of it. Therefore what are perceived, and what are believed, are not the same. According as they are *perceived* they feed a corruptible body, and are themselves corruptible; but according as they are *believed* they feed the souls which are to live forever, and are in themselves immortal."*

Ratramnus asserts that both the sacraments derive their

* This translation is made from the original text in the *Orthodoxographia*, 1555, and in two editions of 1673 and 1717, accompanied by a French translation made from an English translation by Hopkins. This English I have never seen; but it is stated in the Amsterdam edition, that the English translator published a second edition of his translation with the original Latin, in 1688.

efficacy from the power of the Holy Ghost, which, when the outward elements are administered, applies to the souls of those who duly receive them, the spiritual blessings they are intended to convey. The controversy evidently originated in France; and I might go on to speak of the doctrine of Joannes Scotus Erigena, revived by Berengarius, in the eleventh century. His great opponent, Lanfranc, probably introduced the doctrine of the Carnal Presence into England in the reign of William the Conqueror.* It had been favoured by Rome; and at a Council held by Pope Nicholas II. in 1059, Berenger was compelled to take an oath of retraction. Still the manner of the change was left undetermined. Even so late as the middle of the twelfth century, the celebrated Master of the Sentences says, "If it be asked Of what nature is that conversion; whether formal, or substantial, or of some other kind? *I am not able to define it.* That it is not formal, I acknowledge; for the species of the things which were before, remain; namely, taste and weight. To some it appears to be substantial, and they say that one substance is thus converted into another, so that the former becomes essentially the latter. With this sense the before-mentioned authorities seem to agree. But this opinion is thus opposed by others: If the substance of the bread or wine, say they, is converted substantially into the body or blood of Christ, some substance is daily made the body or blood of Christ, which before was not so; and to-day something is the body of Christ which was not so yesterday; and the body of Christ is daily increased, and is formed of matter from which in the conception it was not made. To such, this answer may be returned, that the body of Christ is not said to be formed in the same manner by the Celestial Word, for the body itself formed in the conception of the virgin, may thenceforward be formed. But because the substance of the bread or wine, which before had not been the body or blood of Christ, is made the body and blood by the Celestial Word, and therefore the priests are said to make the body and blood of Christ, because by their mystery (*mysterio*, qu. *ministerio*, *ministry*?) the substance of the bread is made the flesh, and the substance of the wine the blood of Christ. Yet nothing is added to the body or blood, nor is the body or blood of Christ increased. *But if you*

* See Collier, *Ecel. Hist.* vol. i. p. 261, comp. with p. 204.

*seek the manner in which that can be done, I answer briefly, that the mystery of the faith can profitably be believed, but cannot profitably be investigated.**

A few years after, Peter, of Blois, invented the word TRANSUBSTANTIATION, a barbarous word, of which no previous trace exists. Yet it was not till the year 1215, that we find it employed in any Synodical assembly. Whether it was even sanctioned by the fourth Council of Lateran, unless silence be taken for consent, is more than doubtful. The seventy Chapters which form what are called the Decrees of that Council, were composed by Pope Innocent III., and read by him to the Council, *but not acted upon*. No discussion took place, nor was any vote taken. The power of the Pope had, since the time of Hildebrand, risen to the extreme height of the feudal tenure. Not one of the 412 bishops present dared to open his mouth; though, to a great part of them, many of these decrees were unsatisfactory. Certain it is, that they were never set forth by the Council, but were the mere dictum of the Pope.† The passage in which the word *transubstantiation* was for the first time thus publicly recognized, is as follows: "There is one universal Church of the faithful, out of which no one at all is saved. In this Jesus Christ is himself the priest and the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the species of bread and wine which are *transubstantiated*, the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood,"‡ &c.

From that time forth the *word* as well as the *doctrine* came into general use. Yet even then, distinguished writers among the schoolmen, felt themselves at liberty to express different opinions concerning it. Thus the celebrated Occam [A. D. 1330] says, that "There are three opinions about *transubstantiation*, of which the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental elements; the second, the annihilation; the third, affirmeth the bread to be in such manner *transubstantiated* into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed

* Pet. Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. diss. 11. De Modo Conversionis. Ed. prin. Venet. 1477, fol.

† Dupin, de antiqua Ecclesiæ disciplina, Diss. vii. 3, 4. Paris, 4to. 1686, p. 571. Collier, Eccl. Hist. Cent. xiii. vol. i. p. 425.

‡ Labbe et Cossart. Concilia, tom. xi. p. 1, col. 143.

in substance, or substantially converted into Christ's body, or doth cease to be, but only that the body of Christ, in every part of it, becomes present in every part of the bread."*

In this surreptitious manner did the doctrine and the name of Transubstantiation, creep into the Western Church; nor was it ever truly and properly decreed by any Synodical body, until the eleventh of October, A. D. 1551, when the Council of Trent, under pain of anathema, denounced every one who should deny it. And who were they that thus presumed to condemn the great body of the Catholic Church? Why, four Legates, six Archbishops, and thirty-four Bishops! These, with a few theologians of inferior rank, dared to affirm, what the whole Church, for the first eight hundred years of its existence, had never taught. It forms the exception of their peculiarity to the present day. All the impression they have been able to make, for the last three hundred years, upon the Oriental Church, has been by the false assumption that all who deny their doctrine, deny the Real-presence. But so far is this from being the fact, that the true doctrine of the Real-presence is insuperably opposed to their doctrine; for it confounds the distinct offices of the Son and the Holy Ghost. Christ is the advocate of his Church, at the right hand of the Father; the Holy Ghost the advocate of the Church on earth. His perpetual presence, acting on the soul through the ministry of the word and sacraments, makes ALL THINGS REAL. Religion has no empty ceremony. We are made members of Christ's body by Baptism, and we feed upon his body and blood in the Eucharist. "And therefore," says Archbishop Cranmer to Bishop Gardiner, (what I shall apply to Dr. Milner and all his brethren), "you gather of my sayings unjustly, that Christ is indeed absent; for I say, according to God's words and the doctrine of the old writers, that Christ is present in his sacraments, as they teach also that he is present in his word, when he worketh mightily by the same in the hearts of the hearers. By which manner of speech it is not meant that Christ is corporally present in the voice or sound of the speaker, which sound perisheth as soon as the words be spoken; but this speech meaneth, that he worketh with his

* Occam, as quoted by Perceval, Roman Schism, p. 346.

word, using the voice of the speaker as his instrument to work by, as he useth also his sacraments, whereby he worketh, and therefore is said to be present in them."*

CHAPTER VII.

OF COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS.

THE sixth article in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. requires the belief "that under one kind only is received the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament." It is founded on the proceedings of the Council of Trent, in 1551, of which we have spoken in the last two chapters. Before I proceed then to notice what Dr. Milner says "of Communion under one kind," I think it necessary to state some historical facts, which cannot be controverted.

The learned Cassander admits, that for the first thousand years, all, both clergy and laity, in all parts of the Christian Church, received the cup at the Communion. "The Manichæans," he says, "were the first who in the time of the Popes Leo and Gelasius, violated this universal and perpetual Rite of the Church; for when they approached, as the other faithful people did in the Church, to receive the Mysteries, they took the Lord's body, but abstained from the cup of the Lord's blood; not from any reverence for the holy blood, but because, by an impious superstition, they did not think that Christ had any real blood."† This conduct occasioned the following decree of Gelasius: "We have learned that certain persons, having taken a portion of the sacred body only, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood. Let such, without hesitation (for I know not by what superstition they are taught to be thus scrupulous), either receive the whole sacrament or be repelled from the whole; because the division of one and the same Mystery cannot proceed without a great sacrilege."‡

* Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. iii. p. 33.

† De Sacra Comm. sub utraque specie. Opera, Paris, fol. 1616, p. 1025.

‡ Gratian Decr. P. iii. de Consecrat. Dist. ii. c. xii. Cave Hist. Lit. tom. i. A. D. 492.

Such was the decision of a Roman Pontiff, at the end of the fifth century; and not only for FIVE, as Cassander admits, but even *seven hundred years more*, as Cardinal Bona acknowledges, the Communion was most certainly administered to clergy and laity, to men and women, in both kinds. "All agree" says he, "as well Catholics as Sectarians, nor can any one deny it who has the slightest knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, that always and every where, from the beginning of the Church to the twelfth century, the faithful communicated under the species of bread and wine."*

Why then was the practice discontinued? Not, as Bellarmine says, because the great increase of the multitude rendered it inconvenient, and so it gradually ceased,† but for a very different reason. No command of any Bishop can be alleged. It was the natural effect of the newly-invented term *Transubstantiation*. No repugnance existed to take the body, because the species of bread contained nothing in appearance of flesh; but wine turned into blood, created a loathing in the minds of ignorant laymen, in proportion to their implicit belief; and the idea of a Propitiatory sacrifice, encouraged a practice which favoured the Mediatorial power of the priesthood. Certain it is, that St. Thomas Aquinas, who flourished after the middle of the thirteenth century, was the first among the schoolmen who proposed the question for dispute, *whether it were lawful to take the Body of Christ without the Blood*; and he then and there mentions that it was "*the usage of many Churches to administer to the people communicating the body of Christ and not the blood.*"‡ Yet Bonaventura, his contemporary, says only, in his comment on St. John vi., that "on account of the danger of effusion, it is observed in *some* (not many) Churches, that the priest alone may communicate in the blood, and the rest in the body."§ From all these expressions, the inference seems to me to be fair, that the practice was of recent origin, and had gradually been growing after the

* Bona Rer. Liturg. 1. 2, c. 18, as quoted by Payne, Disc. of the Communion in one kind. Bp. Gibson's Tracts, vol. ii. tit. xii. c. 3.

† Bellarm. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 24, de Euch.

‡ Thom. Aquin. Sum. pars. 3, qu. 80. art. xii. cited in Bp. Gibson's Tracts, ut sup.

§ Payne, ut sup. Gibson's Tracts, ut sup.

fourth Council of Lateran, and the decrees of Innocent III., in A. D. 1215.

The first opposition to this practice seems to have been made by Wickliff. His doctrine concerning the Eucharist being connected with vigorous attacks upon the Papal supremacy, an order was sent from Rome, for his apprehension, as having published heterodox opinions, which tended to the subversion of the Church.* A German, or rather as L'Enfant states, a Bohemian gentleman, who had been a student at Oxford, having brought into Germany some of Wickliff's writings, almost the whole country was thrown into commotion, and the ferment soon communicated itself to a large part of Bohemia. The controversy concerning the denial of the cup to the laity, began at Prague about the year 1412. Peter of Dresden, asked Jacobel, a popular pastor, eminent for his learning and sanctity, how he could administer in one kind only, when John the Apostle and Evangelist, the beloved of Christ, says 'except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' Disturbed by this question, Jacobel began to search the Scriptures and the Fathers, and then to teach publicly the necessity of communing in the cup, without which no one could be saved. During these transactions, the Council of Constance was convened, and in May, 1415, the affairs of Bohemia were referred to their consideration.†

Such is the account given by Cardinal Piccolomini, the Papal Legate in Bohemia, and afterwards Pope, under the title of Pius II. The Council assembled in 1414, and at its thirteenth session, June 15, 1415, passed the following decree:‡ "Whereas in some parts of the world certain persons rashly presume to assert that the Christian people ought to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, under both kinds of bread and wine; and do every where communicate the laity, not only in the bread but also in the wine this present holy General Council of Constance, lawfully

* Collier, vol. i. p. 564, &c. ad ann. 1377.

† Aeneæ Sylvi Historia Bohemica, c. 35 and 36.

‡ For the sake of brevity, I insert only such parts as relate to the present subject. An English translation of the whole is in Perceval on the Roman Schism, p. 144.

assembled in the Holy Ghost, earnestly desiring to protect the safety of the faithful against this error, after much and mature deliberation had of many who are learned both in divine and human law, declares, decrees, and determines, that *although Christ instituted this venerable sacrament after supper and administered it to His disciples under both kinds of bread and wine . . . and in like manner that although in the primitive Church this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds*, yet for the avoiding any dangers and scandals, the custom has reasonably been introduced that it be received by the officiating persons under both kinds, but by the laity only under the kind of bread: since it is to be believed most firmly, and in no wise to be doubted, that the whole body and blood of Christ is truly contained as well under the species of bread as under that of wine."

The Council then proceeds to decree the punishment to be inflicted, under pain of excommunication, by all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, &c., upon any refractory presbyters, "who, by communicating the people under both kinds of bread and wine, have exhorted and taught that it ought to be so done; and if they return to repentance, let them be received into the bosom of the Church, a wholesome penance being enjoined them proportioned to their offence. But if any of them, with a hardened heart, shall refuse to return to repentance, they are to be compelled, as heretics, by ecclesiastical censures, the assistance of the secular arm being called in if necessary."* Every one at all versed in history, knows what the assistance of the secular arm means—the tender mercies of fire and faggot.

Far from *quelling*, the proceedings of the Council of Constance *increased* the ardour for the restoration of the Cup to the Laity. The Bohemians took up arms in defence of their Christian liberties; and were so successful that they extorted from the Council of Basel a reluctant permission to receive the communion in both kinds. The decree was passed December 23d, 1437, and its language is so remarkable, that it seems to me important to place it before the reader in contrast with the proceedings at Constance. "The Holy Council General of Basel (or Basle), lawfully assembled in the

* Labbe et Cossart. Concil. tom. xii. col. 100, 101.

Holy Ghost, representing the Universal Church, for perpetual memory of the fact :”—Then, after a preamble setting forth their object and motive, and the diligence with which they had long searched the divine Scriptures, the sacred Canons, and the doctrines delivered by the holy Fathers and Doctors, they proceed, after due consideration of all things pertaining, to decree and declare : “That the faithful laity, or clergy communicating but not consecrating, are not bound by the Lord’s precept, to receive under each kind, that is of bread and wine, the holy sacrament of the Eucharist. But the Church, which is governed by the Spirit of truth remaining with her for ever, and Christ who remains with her, as the divine Scripture saith, even to the end of the world, hath to order how it may be ministered by those who do not consecrate, as shall seem expedient, both for the reverence of the sacrament and the salvation of the faithful. Whether, therefore, any one do communicate under one kind, or under both, according to the ordinance or observance of the Church, it is profitable to salvation unto those who communicate worthily. Nor is it in any wise doubtful, that not the flesh only under the species of bread, nor the blood only under the species of wine, but the whole Christ under either species is entire. The laudable custom also of communicating the lay-people under one kind, reasonably introduced by the Church and holy fathers, and hitherto long observed even by doctors of the divine law, having much knowledge of the holy Scriptures and Canons, and now of a long time commended, is to be accounted as law ; nor is it lawful for any one to reject it, or without the authority of the Church to change it. Given at Basel, in our solemn and public session, the tenth before the kalends of January (Dec. 23), in the year from the Lord’s nativity, 1437.”*

The dexterity with which this is worded so as to allow the Bohemian and Moravian Laity to receive the Cup, without absolutely nullifying the decrees of Constance, or giving up a point once established, would, in worldly matters, be ridiculous and amusing. In the concerns of the Church, it moves our indignation and sorrow. The Council of Constance regards, as heretics, to be pursued even to the stake,

* Labbe et Cossart. Concil. tom. xii. col. 600, 601.

those who maintain the necessity of communion in both kinds ; the Council of Basel, on the contrary, tolerates, if it does not authorize, this communion, and so *permits*, indirectly, what had been twenty-two years before decreed to be heresy !

We must now proceed to the Council of Trent. The denial of the Cup to the Laity was a practical matter which all could understand, and concerning which, there was, therefore, a great and general uneasiness. Consequently, the Emperor and other sovereigns of the Roman Communion were very desirous to have it restored ; and for this reason especially, a safe-conduct, or, as we should now call it, a passport, was urgently demanded for the Protestants that their doctors might be heard on the subject, before any decision should be taken. But the Pope, and his party in the Council, did not, in reality, wish for the presence of the Protestants ; and the latter, on account of the treachery at the Council of Constance, in the matter of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were naturally distrustful. These conflicting views of the Imperial and Papal parties in the Council of Trent cannot be denied ; and a proper consideration of them throws much light on the proceedings of the thirteenth Session. Fra Paolo and Pallavicini agree as to the ten Articles drawn from the doctrine of the Lutherans and Zuinglians concerning the Eucharist. The eighth and ninth of these were as follows :

8. That it is of divine right to give the Communion even to the people and to children under both kinds ; and therefore that they sin who force the people to receive only one kind.

9. That there is not contained under one of the species or kinds as much as under both ; nor does he who communicates under one, receive as much as under both.

The Count de Montfort, who represented the Emperor, knew that if these propositions were condemned, it would be impossible to conciliate the Protestants ; for which reason he endeavoured to postpone all action upon them, and arrange, in the mean time, the matter of the safe-conduct. But he was defeated, and the discussion came on, without the presence of the Protestants, on the second of September, 1551.

The judgments and answers of the minor Theologians on all the ten Articles were communicated to the Fathers on the 17th of September, and on the 21st they began to

give their opinions, the Legate first declaring his. He thought that no definition should be made on the ninth article, because many doctors believed in the inequality there expressed, but it would not be opportune for them to incline to that opinion, lest the laity should be excited against the clergy as being defrauded by them of the greater grace which is the consequence of communion in both kinds.* This prudent advice the Council followed!

From difficulties connected with the tenor of the safe-conduct, the renewal of the war, and the success of the Protestants, on which it is impossible here to dwell, the Council was suspended early in 1552, and remained so for ten years. On the 6th of June, 1562, the following Articles were proposed for examination:

1. Whether by divine command every Christian is obliged to receive both kinds in the Sacrament of the Eucharist?

2. Whether the reasons, by which the Catholic Church was induced to give the Communion to the Laity, and also to priests not celebrating, under the species of bread only, ought to be so strictly retained, that the use of the cup should in no wise be permitted to any person whatsoever?

3. Whether, in the event of its appearing meet for honest causes, in conformity with Christian charity, to concede the use of the Cup to any nation or kingdom, it should be done under some conditions; and if so, what?

4. Whether he who uses this Sacrament only under one kind, receives any thing less than he who uses it under both kinds?

5. Whether it be necessary by the divine law to give the Eucharist to children before they have arrived at the age of discretion?

This last Article was put in only as a sort of make-weight to help out the first, and the debate was confined principally to the second, third and fourth. To give even an outline of this debate among the minor Theologians or the Fathers of the Council, or to expose the stratagems by which the several Sovereigns in the Roman Communion, were foiled in their attempts to restore the cup to the laity

* Pallav. lib. xii. c. ii. 9.

as a means of quieting their subjects, would far exceed my present limits. From the concordant opinions of the Theologians, four Canons were drawn up and proposed on the 23d of June, 1562, in the Congregation of the Fathers. The rest were indefinitely postponed, on the plea of want of time for such grave and important considerations. The Canons, according to the Apologist of the Council, condemned all who said, 1, that the Communion under both kinds was of divine command; 2, that the Church had erred in forbidding it to the laity; 3, that as much was not received under one kind as under both, because all is not received which Christ hath instituted; and 4, that it is necessary, or of divine command, to give the communion to children, before they arrive at the years of discretion.**

And now, dear reader, let us turn to good, honest, innocent Dr. Milner, and see how smoothly he glides over this whole subject. Passing by what has already been answered, about the Catholic Church, and the Canon of Scripture, and Tradition, and Infant baptism, let us confine ourselves and him strictly to the point. "It is true that our blessed Saviour instituted the holy Eucharist under two kinds;" but, says Dr. Milner, "he then made it a *Sacrifice* as well as a *Sacrament*." And what then? Why with this juggle about a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, he makes out that the priests take it as a sacrifice, and must therefore take the cup, and the people take it as a sacrament, and must therefore take only the bread. Yet if it be a Propitiatory sacrifice, and the priests are so holy and harmless and undefiled that they need not offer for their own sins, then they are to partake of the victim, and the sinners for whom they offer, have no right to either kind. But if it be a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, it is the people's sacrifice as well as theirs, and the people have a right to eat and drink as well as they.

"True it is," says Dr. Milner, "that when Christ promised this Sacrament to the *faithful in general*, he promised in *express terms both his body and his blood*, John vi."† Why then, if it be so true, do you deny what Christ promised?—"He who said, *Unless you shall eat the flesh of the Son of*

* Pallav. lib. xvii. c. vi. 13, and vii. 1; lib. xviii. c. iii. iv. v. vii. viii. ix.

† Letter XXXIX.

Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you, has likewise said, If any one shall eat of this bread he shall live for ever." Did any one ever hear of such logic? Because our Lord, when He was speaking of the Manna which was a type of Him who was the true bread of life, spoke of the necessity of eating that bread, was this any reason for neglecting what He afterwards spoke of as equally necessary, the drinking of his blood? We do say, that by so doing, "*half the Sacrament is suppressed and the laity are robbed of the cup of Salvation.*"

But "it is the sentiment of the great lights of the Church, St. Chrysostom, St. Austin, St. Jerom, &c.," that St. Luke xxiv. 30, 31 means the administration of the Holy Communion by our Lord to Cleophas and his companion, *under the form of bread alone.*" Where, I would be glad to know?—These fathers often speak of the bread as being the body, and the wine as being the blood of Christ in the Eucharist; but I have yet to learn that they speak of any administration by our Lord under the form of bread alone. How very *literal* is Dr. Milner become all at once! St. Luke says that our Lord "took bread and blessed it, and brake and gave to them, and their eyes were opened and they knew him."—The text says nothing about wine, says Dr. Milner, and therefore there was none! Then, we reply, it was no Eucharist. If it was a Eucharist, then there must have been wine; and our Lord when He instituted the Eucharist, said expressly that He would "drink no more of the fruit of the vine until that day that" He should "*drink it new in the kingdom of God.*"* Did Christ celebrate the Eucharist with his disciples after his resurrection? Then He drank the fruit of the vine new in the kingdom of God. We are as much entitled to the benefit of Apostolic tradition, as Dr. Milner and his brethren. We read that He was seen of his disciples after his passion *forty days*, and that He spoke to them "of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,"† He therefore gave them instructions how to celebrate public worship, and especially the Sacraments. I see no reason to disbelieve that He did celebrate the Communion with his disciples. But as this is not a matter of faith, whether He did or did not, He probably directed them to cele-

* St. Mark xiv. 25.

† Acts i. 3.

brate in the morning, as He was sacrificed in the morning. We infer this from the *universal practice of the Church*; and we therefore infer, that all the faithful received the cup. No, says Dr. Milner, in Acts ii. 42, and xx. 7, we read of *the breaking of bread "without any mentioning of the other species."* But does it thence follow that the other species was not there? In both these places, the ancient Syriac version, probably the most ancient of all, reads "the breaking of the Eucharist;" but this it does not in the passage where mention is made of our Lord's breaking bread, St. Luke xxiv. 30, 31. The breaking bread was a symbolic action, representing that breaking of the Lord's body by which his blood was poured out. But who would have ever thought of such an argument for denying the cup, if arguments for it had not been rare? All the passages were alleged at the Council of Trent, but produced no other effect than to excite ridicule among all who knew that communion in one kind was entirely unknown to the Oriental Christians. According to Fra Paolo, the Bishop of Lerida having maintained that since the Council of Constance the Greeks had not been forbidden to communicate in both kinds on account of some privilege which he himself had seen, the President Du Ferrier, one of the French Ambassadors, asked him to state the tenor, the time, and the author of this privilege. Upon his making it as old as the time of Pope Damasus, the Ambassador burst into a laugh, knowing that a century after that Pope, it was accounted sacrilege at Rome to abstain from the cup;* that the Roman order itself describes the Communion of the Laity always with the cup; and that even so late as the year 1200, Innocent III. makes mention that women received the blood of Christ in the Communion.†

I have already said enough on 1 Cor. xi. 27,‡ to expose Dr. Milner's hypercriticism. Granting him all he wishes as to the translation, it only shows that the Corinthians received in both kinds, disorderly, so that they did not distinguish the Communion from common meals, and some were hungry and others drunken.

* Fra Paolo and the President Du Ferrier had reference here to the doctrine of Pope Gelasius, which has been already laid before the reader, p. 198.

† Fra Paolo St. lib. vi. c. xxxvi. with Courayer's Note upon the passage.
‡ Part I. p. 68.

It is a great weariness of flesh and spirit to trace Dr. Milner through all his tortuosities. He wants to prove, that although our Lord instituted the sacrament under both kinds, yet that "*the whole body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ equally subsist under each,*" and consequently that it is a matter of discipline only which of them is to be received. I have said enough to show that such an idea never existed, for at least 1200 years; and yet he has the hardihood to affirm that *the whole Catholic Church, from the time of the Apostles to the present, has firmly believed as he says.* This bold assertion may satisfy ignorant or prejudiced readers; but will it satisfy those who require proof? With all his vapouring, he brings not a single passage from any ancient author, though he *talks* of such authors from Tertullian to Chrysostom, and puts in the margin some loose references which I defy any one to find. But let all that he states be compared and sifted, and it will be seen that he admits enough to condemn himself and his cause. He admits, what he could not deny, that Popes Leo and Gelasius, at the close of the *fifth* century, *condemned* Communion in one kind. He admits that the Council of Constance at the beginning of the *fifteenth* century first *confirmed* what Leo and Gelasius had *condemned*.

I like not to accuse Dr. Milner of dishonesty; and I would make all due allowance for those infirmities to which even the best of men are subject. But I cannot pass by his disingenuous construction of the Proclamation of King Edward VI., for which he rightly refers to Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 17. The King enacts, with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, "That the most blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, should from thenceforth be commonly delivered and ministered unto all persons within our realm of England and Ireland and other our dominions, under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, (except necessity otherways require), lest any man fancying and devising a sundry way by himself, in the use of this most blessed sacrament of unity, there might thereby arise, any unseemly and ungodly diversity." The object was to turn the Mass into a General Communion, according to the primitive practice of the Catholic Church; to make every Chris-

tian feel the necessity of his receiving the blessed sacrament of unity in one uniform manner; and thus, except in cases of absolute necessity, to provide for the general administration and reception of the elements by all his subjects at the parish churches every Lord's day. The *exception* did not refer, as Dr. Milner dreamed, to *the two elements of bread and wine*, but to *reasonable causes of absence*, from what was deemed a common and general duty. The old maxim that necessity has no law, is applicable here; and God will not mark as done amiss what He in his Providence deprives men of the power of performing. This construction is in perfect accordance with that of the historian whom Dr. Milner quotes, contained in the paragraph preceding the proclamation, and in the very page which he quotes, viz., Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 58. With what face then could he *insinuate* that Communion *without the cup* was thereby allowed in *cases of necessity*, and thus triumph over the inconsistency of the Church of England? The dilemma is entirely of his own devising.

As for reserving the consecrated elements after Communion, it is inconsistent with the very nature of a Eucharistic Sacrifice. They are not to be left until the morning, but must be consumed on the day in which they are offered.* For this reason it was that in the Articles of the two London Synods of 1552 and 1562, it was commanded that they should not be kept, gazed upon, and carried about; and in the rubric the additional caution was inserted in the Scottish Liturgy, and the English, of 1662, that the priest and such communicants as he should call unto him should reverently eat and drink all that remained. It is the fulfilment of a divine command.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON PURGATORY AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

THE limits assigned to this work admonish me to be very brief in what I shall say of Purgatory, of the Invocation of

* Exod. xii. 10; Levit. vii. 15.

Saints, of Images and Relics, of the Power of Indulgences, and of the Roman Supremacy. These, with the vow of submission to all the Canons and Synodical Decisions received by the Roman Communion, comprise the remaining points of difference between them and the Churches of the English Communion.

All abuses grow out of acknowledged truths. The doctrine of Purgatory was derived from that of the intermediate state, but is essentially different from it. The one is a doctrine of the Scriptures and of the Ancient Church; the other, a modern invention, confined to the Roman Communion.

That the souls of those who depart out of this world, do not go to the final state of happiness or misery, must be inferred from the words of holy writ. On this awfully interesting subject, there is, indeed, a mysterious reserve, to teach us reverence and humility; but sufficient is said to intimate that the final condition of man, for either bliss or woe, will *follow* and not *precede* the general judgment.

In the final consummation of *bliss*, the body and the soul, like two long separated, but re-united friends, will go together into the mansions of everlasting life. "No one," said our blessed Saviour to Nicodemus, "hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven."* "David," said St. Peter, "is not ascended into the heavens."† Enoch and Elijah were "translated that they should not see death."‡ But whither? Not into that heaven of which our Saviour speaks, and into which "no one but himself hath ascended." And if neither Enoch, nor David, nor Elijah, have ascended, whither the man Christ Jesus hath alone ascended, can any of the Patriarchs, or Prophets, or Apostles, or Martyrs, have entered into the final habitations of the blessed?

And as for the final consummation of *misery*, even "the Angels that sinned," are only delivered into chains of darkness to be *reserved unto judgment*."§ Cast down to *Tartarus*,

* St. John iii. 13.

† Acts ii. 34.
§ 2 Pet. ii. 4.

‡ Heb. xi. 5.

saith St. Peter, where the Vulgate reads excellently well, *in tartarum tradidit*. But this Tartarus is not the final state, "the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels."* That is called by our Saviour, *Gehenna* or the *Gehenna of fire*;† and is described as *following* the last judgment.

The intermediate state is called in the New Testament *Hades* or the *unseen*; and in this it agrees with the proper signification of the Anglo-Saxon word *Hell*; a noun derived from the verb *Helan* tegere, to hide, cover, or conceal. The following examples are selected from many which are given by Horne Tooke, of the verb and its derivatives. "Naked and ye *hiliden* me."—"Just men shulen answer, Whanne-seigen we thee nakid, and we *hiliden* thee?" St. Matt. xxv. 36, 38. "No man ligtinge a lanterne *hilith* it with a vessel, either puttith under a bedde," &c. St. Luke viii. 16. "No thing is *hilid* which shall not be shewid," &c. Ib. xii. 2. "Seie thou not in thin herte, who shal stie into Hevene, that is to seie for to lede down Crist? Or who shal go down into depnesse or *HELLE* that is for to agen clepe Crist fro the dede spiritis." Rom. x. 6, 7. "What hightest thou? I pray the *HEALE* not thy name." *Vis. of Pierce Ploughman*, pass. 21, fol. 116, p. 2. 'Parde we women can no thyng *HELE*.' *Chaucer, Wife of Bathes Tale*, &c. "Laye it in a trouge of stone and *hyll* it wyth lede close and juste," &c. Fabian, part vi. ch. cexiii. Ray says to "HEAL, to cover, Sussex, as . . . To HEAL the fire. To HEAL a house. . . . To to hide, cover. Hence, in the west, he that covers a house with slates is called a 'HEALER or HELLIER.'"‡

In the Creed therefore, *HELL* means the same as *Hades*; and also in the English Bible, wherever it is used for that word, or for the corresponding Hebrew word *Sheol*. Thus the Psalmist, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in *Hell*,"§ which passage St. Peter expressly says was spoken prophetically of the Soul of Christ.¶ If the same word had not been also used for the *Gehenna of fire*, we should not have had

* St. Matt. xxv. 41.

† St. Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; x. 28; xviii. 9; xxiii. 33. St. Mark ix. 43, 45, 47. St. Luke xii. 5.

‡ Diversions of Parley, vol. ii. pp. 316-319. First Amer. Ed. 1807.

§ Ps. xvi. 10.

¶ Acts ii. 25, 27, 30, 31.

that confusion which has obscured the doctrine of the intermediate state.

In the awfully interesting parable of the rich man and the beggar,* our Lord contrasted the worldly condition of both, with their reversed state after death. He represented the one as possessing all that worldly wealth can bestow; the other, as reduced to the most miserable degradation of which human nature is susceptible. Yet, in *Hades* he who had fared sumptuously every day, "lifting up his eyes being in torments, seeth Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom." The rich man had feasted on earth; but now Lazarus was feasting in the most honoured condition, reclining on the bosom of Abraham, as the beloved disciple reclined on the bosom of Jesus. Both were in *Hades*, *helled* to use the Anglo-Saxon phrase, that is *covered over* or *concealed* from human view in the invisible region of departed souls, but visible to each other, and audible to each other, so that the moanings of his wretched descendant were heard and answered by the Father of the Faithful. Could his intercession cause the mission of Lazarus to cool the tongue of the tormented one? No! for he was in *Tartarus* with the Apostate Angels who were thrust down thither, and Lazarus was in *Paradise* whither our Lord's soul descended when he expired upon the cross.† Passage from one to the other was impossible. For Abraham said to the suffering wretch, "*Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.*"‡ However compassionate the Saints in *Paradise* may be, they cannot assist the damned; nor can a soul once damned, come from the region of the Apostate Spirits, into the *Paradise* of God. These are the general truths, totally inconsistent with the modern doctrine of Purgatory. There are obscure texts of mysterious import, concerning which opinions may differ. The passage 1 Pet. iii. 18-20 is one of these. It evidently declares, as Bishop Horsley observes, "some going of our Lord to a place called 'hell,' in the interval of time between the burial of his dead body, and his rising to life again on the third day

* St. Luke xvi. 19-31.

† St. Luke xxiii. 43.

‡ Ib. xvi. 26.

after that interment."* But it by no means implies a descent into *Tartarus* or the place of Torment. "The same wonderful scheme of humiliation which required that the Son should be conceived, and born, and put to death, made it equally necessary that his soul in its intermediate state, should be gathered to the souls of the departed Saints."†

Let us now turn to Dr. Milner. He *assumes* that all the passages of Scripture which have been mentioned are so many proofs of Purgatory—"a middle state," he says, "*which we call purgatory.*" Now what is to be done with such a writer as this? If we were to refuse to argue with him, we should do nothing more than would be just and right. But then we should endanger such persons as his imagined correspondents. They, unused to the arts of special pleading, where victory and not truth is the object of the conflict, might attribute our refusal to wrong motives and a sense of weakness. Let Dr. Milner, or any of his applauders, prove that Christ descended into *Tartarus*, the abode of devils and reprobate souls, and he would not have lost his time or tried our patience. But neither he nor they have done, nor can do so. Indeed he admits that it was "not the hell of the damned," and he calls Calvin a blasphemer for having asserted so horrible a thought. Yet he insinuates that "the holy fathers" apply to the middle state, whither Christ descended, the words of our Lord, Luke xii. 59: "I tell thee thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite." And then he quotes in the margin Tertul., St. Cypr., Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, &c.! Can any one who quotes in this manner expect us to hunt through so many folio volumes, and after all our pains, as I to my cost have found, discover that he has quoted wrongly? Tertullian, who has quoted this verse, in his work against Marcian, says not a word about Purgatory.‡ The Benedictine editor of the works of St. Cyprian gives a list of the texts cited by him, but this verse is not in it. Origen, indeed, in his fanciful way, interprets this passage as pertaining to the future, and not to the present life;

* Horsley's Sermons, Lond. 1824, vol. ii. p. 413.

† Bp. Horsley, ut sup. p. 418.

‡ Tertul. adv. Mar. lib. iv. c. 29.

but he interprets in a way fatal to the cause of Purgatory. "Lest he hale thee to the Judge," v. 58. "Who, think you," asks Origen, "is that Judge? I know no other Judge but my Lord Jesus Christ, of whom it is elsewhere said, 'He shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.'" The prison then of which Origen speaks, is the *Gehenna of fire after the last judgment*.* He believed, as is well known, that even the devil and his angels were capable of reformation, and might ultimately be released from punishment. Whether he ought to have been excommunicated for so absurd and gratuitous an opinion, I do not take upon me to say; but certainly his doubts as to the eternity of future punishments afford no argument as to any penal infliction, excepting in the fire prepared for the devil and his angels. As for St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome, I cannot find any passage in which they have given the least intimation that could justify Dr. Milner in quoting them.

St. Paul, in 1 Cor. iii. 13-15, speaks of "every man's work" to be "made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. . . . If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." The ancient commentators are somewhat divided as to the materials and work; but all agree that by "the day," is meant the day of judgment; and by fire, that which will then begin to try the materials and the work. Consequently they afford no support for the modern notion of a purgatorial fire *preceding* the day of judgment. For the proof of this assertion I refer to the Homily of St. Chrysostom, and the Commentaries of Œcumenius and Theophylact.† I might even refer to the very passage in Origen which Dr. Milner alludes to, but does not quote, to show that he thought death alone, in some cases, an absolution from sin, which prevented the infliction at the day of judgment of eternal fire.‡ Every one must see

* Homilia in Lucam XXXV. Opera, tom. iii. pp. 974, 975.

† S. Chrys. Op. ed. Montfaucon, tom. x. p. 73, &c. Œcumen. Paris, 1631, tom. i. p. 441. Theophyl. Venet. tom. ii. p. 138.

‡ "Absolvitur ergo peccatum per pœnum mortis, nec superest aliquid, quod pro hoc crimine judicii dies et pœna æterni ignis inveniat." Origen in Levit. Hom. xiv. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 260.

that this *fancy* is totally at variance with *that* of a purgatorial fire between death and the judgment.

St. Augustine, I am ready to admit, used language on this subject which led the way to the much more modern notion of purgatory, just as his theory of predestination and election was the original source from which flowed Luther and Calvin's doctrine. He speaks of the unseen world of spirits, between death and the resurrection, where departed souls are "kept in hidden receptacles according as every one is worthy of rest or pain." But here are only the *two*, not the *third*, which was afterwards invented. He adds, "nor is it to be denied that the souls of the defunct may be relieved by the piety of their living friends, when for them the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered, or alms are bestowed in the Church." He then observes that these can be of advantage to them, only according to their conduct while living. "Some are not so good as not to require them after death, and others not so bad that they cannot after death be benefited by them. Among the good there are such as do not require them; and among the bad, some are so bad that when they depart from this life nothing that their friends can do can aid them. His idea seems to have been that even among the damned during the intermediate period there are gradations of suffering, as there were in this life gradations of sin; that the least sinful may be benefited by the intercession of the Mediator, and the prayers and alms of the faithful, so that their sufferings may be mitigated. On the other hand, that there are gradations of bliss, even among the happy souls in paradise, as there had been various degrees of excellency here on earth, and that these also may be raised to higher mansions of bliss at the day of judgment in consequence of the constant acts of intercession in the mean time of Christ and his church. These are offered for all baptized persons who have departed this life. For the very good (*valde bonis*), they are acts of thanksgiving; for the not very bad (*non valde malis*), they are propitiations; for the very bad (*valde malis*), *though of no advantage to the dead, they afford some consolation to the living*. To some they are profitable, so far at least, as to obtain a full remission or certainty that damnation itself may be made more tolerable. After the Resurrection, indeed, the

judgment being then universal and complete, the two cities, the one namely of Christ, and the other of the devil, will have their limits; the one of the good, the other of the bad; both the one and the other, however, of both angels and men. The one, living truly and happily in life eternal, cannot have either will or faculty of committing sin; the other enduring unhappily in eternal death without the power of dying. Both are without end; but they in bliss will be more distinguished one than another, and they in misery will endure, one in more tolerable sufferance than another.*

Now all this, "though a most undeniable evidence," as the present Bishop of Exeter has well observed, "in favour of Sacrifices of the Altar, and of Alms for the Dead," is "a strong testimony *against* the Roman doctrine of *Purgatory*." . . . It is plain that the author contemplated the day of Judgment, as the time when the dead would be benefited by these pious services offered for them by their surviving friends." Speaking of the first and second death (Rev. xx. 14), the one *preceding* the other *following* the general Resurrection, St. Augustine says, "Neither the *first*, in which the soul is compelled to relinquish its body, nor the *second*, in which the soul is not permitted to relinquish its penal body, would have happened to man if no one had sinned. The punishment will be most mild, of all those who have added nothing to the sin which they derived from their origin." He meant of course unbaptized infants or idiots dying without actual sin. For baptized infants, dying in infancy, have had original sin remitted, and being members of Christ's body are saved, and therefore are not liable even to the mildest punishment, because they have committed no actual sin. "And in the rest," he continues, "who *have* added, each one will *there* have his damnation the more tolerable in proportion as he has *here* had the less iniquity."†

The Bishop proceeds to remark with some severity upon

* S. Aug. Enchirid. cap. cix.-cxi. Op. tom. vi. col. 174, 175. See also De Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. cap. xviii.-xxiv. tom. vii. col. 482-487. Ed. Antwerp.

† S. Aug. Ench. ut sup. cap. xciii. A part of this passage is quoted in a note by the Bishop of Exeter in that part of his Letters to Charles Butler, Esq., from which I am now extracting.

Dr. Milner's unfairness and injustice, in most indecently charging Bishop Porteus with "three egregious falsities," because he asserted that "Purgatory in the present Popish sense was not heard of for four hundred years after Christ; nor universally received for one thousand years, nor in almost any other Church than that of Rome to this day." "The truth is," said Dr. Phillpotts, "that Dr. Milner has only engrafted a little of his own peculiar rhetoric, on the old and established practice of writers in your [the Roman] communion, who are always anxious to couple Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead together, as if the latter necessarily implied the former. But Prayer for the Dead, in the early ages of the Church, proceeded on very different grounds. One of them, I shall have occasion to mention presently; meanwhile I content myself with saying, that, in Augustine, passages which prove the practice of Prayer for the Dead, are in general found in company with others, which negative a belief in Purgatory, never (as far as I have seen, or Dr. Milner has shown) with any which affirm it. In particular, the tract, with which we are at present engaged, is full of passages opposite to the purpose for which it is cited by you [Mr. Butler] and Dr. Milner. In it, the very text* of which he [Dr. M.] affects triumphantly to ask 'what other sense it can bear than that which makes it a proof of Purgatory, is explained in a meaning wholly unconnected with that tenet. For Augustine† interprets the fire mentioned by St. Paul, as the fire of tribulation or persecution in this life, ('est quidem iste ignis tentatio tribulationis') and applies it as follows: 'They, whose foundation is Christ, though they build not thereupon, as they ought, *gold, silver, precious stones*, (that is heavenly affections and desires,) but *wood, hay, stubble*, the desires of things of this world, over which the fire of tribulation will have power to consume and destroy them; if, nevertheless, they still keep the foundation,—if, however they may themselves burn with grief for the loss of the objects of their earthly affections, they would still rather lose them all, than abandon Christ—these are saved, but so as by fire.'‡

* 1 Cor. iii. 12-15.

† Ench. 106, 168.

‡ Dr. Phillpotts' Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. Ed. 2, 8vo. Lond. 1826. Letter VI.

Immediately after this passage there is another, which, indeed, betrays an incipient approach to the doctrine of an intermediate purgatorial fire; and as there are expressions in it somewhat obscure, I place the whole in the margin, and give Dr. Phillpotts' translation rather than my own, of that part which verifies my assertions. "It is not incredible that some such thing as this may take place after this life also; and this may be a subject of inquiry, whether this be so, or not. It may be found, or it MAY NOT, that some men, through a certain purgatory fire, in proportion as they have more or less loved the perishing enjoyments of the world, are slower or sooner in attaining salvation."*

The doubtful manner in which St. Augustine here speaks, shows the novelty of the thought. It was a mere opinion, advanced by him as such; and he limits the operation to those who are not barren in acts of charity and mercy, because so much is attributed to such acts by our Lord, in his description of the last Judgment.† This seems to me fully to justify, and more than justify, the assertion of Bishop Porteus, that Purgatory, as a doctrine, was not heard of for four hundred years after Christ.

The progress of this opinion, from theory to practice, during the next two hundred years, will best be seen in the writings of St. Gregory the Great, who held the See of Rome from A. D. 590 to A. D. 604. In his dialogues, if they are his, which some doubt, he has a chapter on the question, whether after death there be a purgatory fire? The very question implies doubts. It is still an opinion merely, and as such the author attempts to strengthen it by argument. "The Lord says in the Gospel, *Walk while ye have the light*;

* S. Aug. Ench. c. 69. Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit, quæri potest: et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quemdam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona preuentia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari; non tamen tales de quibus dictum est, quod *regnum Dei non possidebunt*, nisi convenienter pœnitentibus eadem crimina remittantur. Convenienter autem dici, ut steriles in eleemosynis non sint, quibus tantum tribuet Scriptura divina, ut earum tantummodo fructum se imputaturam prænantiet Dominus dextris, et earum tantummodo sterilitatem sinistris, quando his dicturus est, *Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum*: illis autem, *Ite in ignem æternum*."

† St. Matt. xxv. 31-46.

and by the Prophet he also says, *In an acceptable time have I listened to thee, and in the day of salvation have I heard thee*. Which Paul the Apostle explaining, saith: *Behold now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation*. Solomon also says: *Whatsoever thy hand can do, work instantly; because there shall be neither work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom (apud inferos) in Hades, whither thou art hastening*. David also saith, *For his mercy is (in seculum) for ever*. From all which declarations it is clearly manifest that such as any one departeth hence, such is he in the Judgment presented (!) It is, notwithstanding, to be believed, that before the Judgment there is, for certain slight faults, a purgatory fire; inasmuch as the TRUTH says,* 'Whosoever shall speak blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.' In which declaration it is given to be understood that there are some faults in this world which can be loosed in the world to come. The consequent sense is clear, that what is denied of one only, is conceded concerning some. But as I before said, this can be believed only of small and very slight sins, such as habitual idle speech, immoderate laughter, the neglect of one's private affairs, which can scarcely be done without fault even by those who know how they ought to turn away from fault. Such, too, is the error of ignorance in things not weighty. All which oppress after death, if they have not been remitted to those who are still in the present life. For, when Paul says that Christ is the foundation, he subjoins, *If any one build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, &c.*† Although this may be understood of the fire of tribulation applied to us in this life, yet if any one so receive it as of the fire of a future purgation, he must anxiously reflect that it says he can be saved by fire; not he who builds on this foundation iron, brass, or lead, that is the greater sins, and therefore the harder, and even then insoluble; but wood, hay, stubble, the least and lightest sins, which the fire easily consumes. Know this, too, that no one will obtain any purgation there, even for the least faults, unless, by good actions while he is still in this life, he shall deserve there to obtain it."‡ "What other sense," says Dr. Milner,

* St. Matt. xii. 32.

† 1 Cor. iii. 12-15.

‡ S. Greg. Dialog. lib. iv. c. xxxix. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. ii. col. 441-444.

"can 1 Cor. iii. 12-15 bear, than that which the holy Fathers affix to it?" And here is a holy Father of the Latin Church, and a Pope too, who, even at the close of the sixth century, says, that it may be understood of the fire of tribulation in this life! Of what pigmy growth was the notion of a purgatory fire even in the days of St. Gregory I., compared with the giant form to which it ultimately rose!

To detail its progress by recounting the absurd and profane legends by which it was nourished, might amuse the thoughtless and shock the devout, but would not be consistent with the plan or purpose of this book. The Council of Trent was conscious that great caution and reserve were necessary; and the decree concerning Purgatory was not finally passed till the last session, Dec. 4th, 1563. It made an Article of Faith of that which had been previously a matter of vague opinion; but it did not there add the usual anathema, though it was, in fact, added in the sixth and twenty-second Sessions. That the intelligent members of the Roman Communion are ashamed of it, may be inferred, I think, from the concession of Dr. Milner, "that all which is necessary to be believed on this subject is contained in the following brief declaration of the Council of Trent: 'There is a Purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar.'"^{*} I call it a concession, though it should rather be called a disingenuous concealment of the truth. For, as the Bishop of Exeter well observes, "its *real purport* is as follows: 'Since the Catholic Church, instructed by Scripture, and the ancient tradition of the Fathers hath taught in sacred Councils, and most recently in this General Council,† that there is a Purgatory,‡ and that the Souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, especially by the sacrifice of the Altar; the holy Council enjoins the Bishops to take diligent care that the *sound doctrine on the subject of Purgatory taught by the holy Fathers and sacred Councils*, be believed by the faithful, be held, taught, and every where preached. The more difficult and subtle questions, and those which lead not to edification, the

^{*} Letter XLIII. 2.

[†] Sess. XXII. cap. ii. can. iii.

[‡] Sess. VI. can. xxx.

uncertain points, and those which are suspected of being false, are not to be published to the multitude, and those which savour of base lucre are to be altogether prohibited."^{*} All this appears very decent upon paper, but it is very adroitly left to the Bishops to see that just such a construction be put upon the whole matter as may best promote the interests of the Holy See. In the British dominions and in America, the doctrine of Purgatory must be covered up under the simple *belief* of the ancient Church in the intermediate state, and the *practice* of the ancient Church of Prayers and Offerings for the dead. But the intermediate state for the faithful departed is, as they believe it, a Paradise of repose, and for the unrepentant and obdurate, not a Purgatory, but the cell of condemned criminals, awaiting at the general judgment, the Gehenna of fire. It is plain that all the benefits which the dead could receive from their offerings and prayers were, as they thought, to *follow*, not to *precede*, the general judgment. It was the pleading of the merits of Christ crucified, for souls departed, as well as for souls present in the body. And even if the clinging affections of this mortal state led them to pray also for condemned criminals, that their future sentence might be mitigated through divine Mercy, these oblations, "*though of no advantage to the dead*," as St Augustine beautifully observed, in the passage I have already quoted, might yet "*afford some consolation to the living*!"

There is no doubt that many of the brightest ornaments of the English Communion have considered this practice of the Ancient Church as a pious act of communion with the Saints departed. Dr. Milner pompously brings forward the names of Cranmer and Ridley, Andrews, Ussher, Montague, Taylor, Forbes, and many others, as believing "that the dead ought to be prayed for;" but does this prove that they believed in Purgatory? No such thing. "Is not all our trust," exclaims Archbishop Cranmer, "in the blood of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed thereby? And will you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the Pope's Purgatory to be washed therein, thinking that

^{*} Conc. Trid. Sess. XXV. Decretum de Purgatorio. Dr. Phillpotts' Letters, ut sup. pp. 114, 115.

Christ's blood is an imperfect lee or soap that washeth not clean? If he shall die without mercy that treadeth Christ's blood under his feet, what is treading of his blood under our feet, if this be not? But if, according to the Catholic faith which the holy Scripture teacheth, and the prophets, apostles, and martyrs confirmed with their blood, all the faithful that die in the Lord be pardoned of all their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly sponged, and washed away by his blood, shall they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of Purgatory, there to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? God hath promised by his word that the souls of the just be in God's hand, and no pain shall touch them; and again he saith: '*Blessed be they that die in the Lord. For the Spirit of God saith, that from henceforth they shall rest from their pains.*'"^{*}

In the first prayer-book of Edward VI. which, as I have before observed, expressed the unbiassed judgment of Cranmer and the other English reformers of his time, the ancient practice of prayers for the dead in Christ is distinctly followed. Thus at the Communion, in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, all baptized persons departed and *resting in the sleep of peace*, are commended to God's mercy, at the last day. "And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in *all thy Saints, from the beginning of the world* :— And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow." After this act of praise and thanksgiving, came that of commendation.— "We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and pos-

^{*} Jenkyns' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 234.

sess the kingdom, which is prepared for you, from the beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake our only Mediator and Advocate."^{*} Every one who has fairly examined the subject, must see that this was in exact accordance with the primitive Liturgies, while it carefully avoided the doctrine of a purgatory fire *before* the resurrection, being confined to baptized persons resting in the sleep of peace, and praying only for the blessings of God's everlasting kingdom.

The same is also apparent in the language of the first English Burial Service, which was not intended to be used for any unbaptized persons, whether infants or adults. The Church claims not the prerogative of judging, which belongs only to the Son of man, and confines herself to cry for mercy: "We commend into thy hands of mercy (most merciful Father) the soul of this our brother departed, &c. And his body we commit to the earth; beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour; that when the judgment shall come, which thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all who love and fear thee," &c. The benefit of all prayers, it is distinctly admitted, is *only to take effect "when the judgment shall come,"* and then only for the sake of the one Mediator. It applies to those who are at rest, not to those who are in torment. All beyond this regards one who has been "delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation;" and has committed his soul into God's holy hands. "Grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul and all the souls of thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether: through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord."[†] It is the language of faith, if not of hope; certainly of that charity which believeth and hopeth and endureth all things.

The dread of the corrupt doctrine of Purgatory has caused

^{*} Keeling's Liturgiæ Britannicæ, p. 210.

[†] Keeling, ut sup. pp. 333-335.

the subsequent changes in the ritual by which the commemoration of the righteous souls who have departed in Christ and do now rest from their labours is retained; but the Churches of the English Communion have never condemned the ancient Catholic practice, and *wisely* in my judgment, have left it to the private consciences of their members.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

"None of the eastern churches," says Mr. Palmer, "have ever used those long invocations of saints which occur at the beginning of the Roman litany." He then proceeds to trace the antiquity of these invocations in the western churches, beginning with the ninth century, in which there can be no doubt of their being customary. "Manuscript litanies containing invocations, have been discovered by learned men, which appear, from internal evidence, to be as old as the *eighth* century. *Beyond this point there appears to be no tangible evidence for the use of invocations in litanies.*" It is true that the practice of *prayers made to God* that the intercession of saints may be heard, is more ancient; but that is entirely a different question. "If the invocation of saints had been practiced in the litany during the fifth and sixth centuries, we should assuredly have found some allusion to it in the writings of Gregory of Tours, of Avitus, or Sidonius, or Gregory the Great, who all speak repeatedly of litanies. But this silence of the Fathers of those ages is well accounted for by the *actual production of several most ancient western litanies, in which there is no invocation of saints.*"*

"If then," continues the same author, "the Church of England had only wished to assimilate her rites to those of the Catholic Church during the first seven centuries, she would have been obliged to omit the invocations which had

* Antiq. of the Eng. Ritual, ed. 2, vol. i. pp. 276-279.

for a considerable time been placed at the beginning of her litany. And who will venture to blame the Church of England for assimilating her rites to those of the primitive Catholic Church?" He then proceeds to justify the conduct of the Church of England on other grounds. 1. By the admission of all parties, it is unnecessary to invoke the saints, for two reasons: first, we are not commanded by God to do so, but are invited to *call on the Lord in the day of trouble*, and are assured that *if we ask any thing in Christ's name, He will do it*. Secondly, the saints departed pray for their brethren in this world already, and consequently need not be asked to do what they do spontaneously. 2. It is *imprudent* to invoke the saints, because we know not whether they can hear our invocations. The Catholic Church has not taught us that the saints certainly hear any address made to them. But we are *certain that God hears us*, and that *He is ready to succour to the utmost those that come to Him*. If we fly from such prayers to invocations of saints, we exchange a certain means of grace for an uncertainty, and so act imprudently. 3. To invoke the saints, *exposes us to the peril of heresy and blasphemy*. The custom leads to the belief that the saints always hear our prayers addressed to them in all parts of the world. This is a divine power, an intrinsic omniscience and omnipresence, which can belong to God only. To attribute such powers to created beings, is heretical and blasphemous.*

It appears to me, from the late period in which this practice was introduced, that it must have been one of the fruits of the doctrine of purgatory. It grows immediately out of the doctrine that the saints are now reigning in heaven; and that doctrine grew out of the penal character of the intermediate state. What evidence is there that the saints departed are *now* reigning with Christ in heaven? The true scriptural doctrine of the intermediate state is as much at variance with the invocation of the saints, as it is with purgatory. St. Paul describes those who have died in faith from the beginning of the Mediatorial kingdom as not having yet received the promises, but waiting for the consummation of all things, "that they without us should not be

* Antiq. of the Eng. Ritual, ed. 2, vol. i. pp. 289-291.

made perfect :” and then comparing the efforts of the Christian life to the races of the Stadium, and the innumerable company of the saints departed, to the spectators reposing on the seats of some vast amphitheatre, interested in our conflict though not themselves engaged in it, he calls upon us to strain every nerve, cheered as we are, by the example and approbation of that august assembly.* They are in the unseen world ; and when any Christian soul arrives at the end of his race and passes into that blessed society, crowned with victory, he is welcomed with a joy which to us is unutterable. St. John in his prophetic vision of the opening of the fifth seal, “saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held.” They were the Christian martyrs ; “and they cried with a loud voice saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and revenge our blood, on them that dwell on the earth ? And white robes were given unto every one of them ; and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.”† It was a prayer that God would shortly accomplish the number of his elect, and hasten his kingdom ; the prayer of the invisible assembly and Church of the first-born, waiting for the general resurrection at the last day, and the life of the world to come ; the prayer of the blessed saints “upon their beds” of refreshment and repose, but not of the saints reigning with Christ in glory everlasting. That will not be until the first resurrection. For the same beloved disciple “saw thrones and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them.” They are the same souls as were before described as being under the altar, the Christian Martyrs and Confessors, who will have part in the first resurrection ; on whom the second death hath no power, but who shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.‡ If then the saints are not *now* reigning with Christ, and shall not reign until the first resurrection, they cannot properly be invoked.

* Heb. xi. 1, to xii. 13.

† Rev. vi. 9-11.

‡ Rev. xx. 4-6.

CHAPTER X.

OF IMAGES AND RELICS.

DR. MILNER, according to his usual practice of covering up what he cannot well defend, has, in his thirty-fourth letter, assumed for Images and Relics the soft epithet of “RELIGIOUS MEMORIALS.” He complains of the grievous injury done to his Communion “by the prevailing calumnies against the respect which she pays to the memorials of Christ and his saints ; namely, to crucifixes, relics, pious pictures, and images.” It is always gratifying to every lover of truth to see this retreat from untenable outworks ; and we should have some hope of a speedy and honourable peace, if the claim of infallibility did not interfere and break off all negotiations.

Dr. Milner suppresses or perverts the truth. Archbishop Cranmer’s Bible of 1539-40, in Col. iii. 5, reads *idols* not *images*, and in Ephes. v. 5, *images* not *idols*—a plain proof that he took his quotations from some second hand. The Bishop’s Bible, first published in 1568, reads in every place quoted by him *as our present translation reads*, idols, idolaters, and idolatry. So did the Geneva or Puritan Bible before it. The objection is not to religious memorials, but to the worshipping of them. This would have been apparent to his readers if he had given the whole passage from Heylin, of which he quotes only so much as suits his purpose. Queen Elizabeth did no more than the Lutherans, the strict and proper Protestants, had always done, and continue to do, even to this day. This partial quotation, *leaving out all inconvenient particulars*, is a part of Dr. Milner’s system. He quotes the decree of the Council of Trent, so far as the disclaimer of intentional idolatry is concerned ; but he prudently suppresses what the decree says of *kissing* the images, not only of Christ, but of the Virgin and other saints, of *uncovering the head*, and *prostrating ourselves before them*. To these very acts, which the Council of Trent assumes to be “the honour and veneration justly due to them, and therefore to be paid,” Bishop Porteus objected ; and the innocent

Dr. Milner, treating it all the time as if it was only an unfounded objection, answers, "*Supposing all this to be true!*" Not a word escapes him which could lead Mr. James Brown and his company to infer that it was more than a Protestant calumny.—And then he wishes to put it all upon the same footing as kissing the Bible when we take an oath, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling when we receive the sacrament!

The Bishop objected to "pictures of God the Father under the likeness of a venerable old man." It "is not so common," replies Dr. Milner, "as that of a triangle among Protestants to represent the Trinity!" What a Jesuitical shuffle is here! The incommunicable name of Jehovah, He who was, and is, and is to come, the great and awful I AM, expressed by the four Hebrew letters of that mysterious name, surrounded by an equilateral triangle as a symbol of the Trinity in Unity, is placed by Dr. Milner upon a par with the figure of an old man, to represent God the Father, whom eye hath not seen, and cannot see! I have in my possession, published so late as in 1830, and purchased by me at the Roman College de Fide Propaganda, a picture of God the Father, with the Pope's triple crown upon his head! and clothed in the Pope's pontifical dress! What will the pious members of the Roman Communion in Great Britain and America say to that?

Look too at the quibble about the omission of the second commandment. In the Hebrew Bible forsooth there is no distinction, "no mark of separation between one commandment and another." It is not true; but if it were, what then? Is that a reason for omitting all that the Bible says, strictly forbidding us to bow down to any graven image, or likeness of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth? The omission of the second commandment is the tacit acknowledgment of a guilty conscience.

As to relics, there is an innate reverence in the human heart for the remains of a dear friend. Association is a powerful law of our nature; and if we could be sure that we possessed any such memorial of our dear Redeemer, or of his Holy Apostles, or of any of the martyrs who shed their blood, rather than depart from their steadfast confession of His name, we should certainly prize them in proportion

to the fervour of our affections. But what evidence have we of such possessions? The only reverence paid by devout men to the remains of the early martyrs consisted in carrying them to their burial, and making great lamentation over them.* The anniversary of their deaths was celebrated at their graves, and at a later period churches were built there. But there is no proof of the disinterment of their bones, or the collection of relics, until the close of the fourth century. At that time so uncertain was the evidence of their identity, that recourse was had to the demonstrations of miraculous power. As a dead man had been revived by the bones of Elisha,† the sacred history suggested a precedent for similar wonders. But even in the days of St. Augustine, the vendors of false relics had begun their frauds; for he speaks of *many hypocrites, under the garb of monks, strolling through the provinces, uncommissioned, and wandering every where under various pretexts; some selling members of martyrs, if indeed they be of martyrs; others extolling their fringes and phylacteries; others seeking their relations,*‡ &c. How profitable this trade afterwards became, it would be easy to show. The counterfeit relics from the catacombs of Rome, are even now distributed. I was there in 1831, descending from St. Sebastian, with a sub-deacon to guide and guard me. One of my little daughters picked up something which she was attentively examining, when the young man rushed upon her, with an expression of holy horror, snatching it out of her hands, and exclaiming, "It is a bone!"

"The ecclesiastical writers say," says the Roman Guide-book, "that fourteen Popes, and about one hundred and seventy thousand martyrs are buried there."§ A pretty good stock in trade, this! And when it is remembered that so many fictitious saints, so many Saints Paralipomenon (Chronicles), and Veronica (Lat. *vera icon*) have been fabricated, there can be no lack of subjects. And if there were, it is an easy matter to furnish each Saint with two or three heads apiece. I went into a Church in Turin where the head of St. John the Baptist is venerated. This was in 1828; and in 1830

* Acts viii. 2.

† 2 Kings xiii. 21.

‡ S. Aug. de Opere Monachorum, cap. xxviii. Opera, tom. vi. col. 364.

§ Nibby Itinerario di Roma, 1827, tom. ii. p. 535.

I went into a Church in Rome, where also the undoubted head of St. John the Baptist received equal veneration. "Are you quite sure, Signore," said I to my conductor, "that you have the real head of St. John the Baptist?" "*Sicuro!*" said he, with the look and accent of surprise that there could be such a question asked. "But I was told at Turin," I rejoined, "that they had the head of St. John the Baptist there." Nothing daunted, he replied, "That may well be, sir, for it is in the power of God to create two heads!!!" "The holy bodies of martyrs and other saints," says the Council of Trent, "which bodies when living, were members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, and will hereafter be raised by him to eternal life, and glorified, *are to be venerated by the faithful.*" Here you have the command. "*By these bodies many benefits are conferred by God on men.*" Here you have the promised reward. "So that they who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of the saints, or that they and other sacred monuments are unprofitably honoured by the faithful, and that it is vain to resort to the memorials of the saints for the sake of obtaining their aid, are utterly to be condemned, as the Church hath long since condemned, and doth now again condemn them."* Here you have the anathema!

All this "proves, beyond contradiction," as the Bishop of Exeter well observes, that the Roman Church "teaches" all in her communion, "to look to *Relics* as means by which blessings may be obtained from God." It proves, therefore, (in spite of a feeble caution which, for form's sake is afterwards added) that the monstrous and degrading superstitions which have been practised in this matter, have not been the mere unauthorized follies of individuals, but that" the Roman Communion, "as a Church, is deeply responsible for them; that they are the natural, the necessary, results of her own doctrine, and are almost sanctioned by her own formal and solemn decree. But even this decree of the Council is not all. Its Catechism is more particular. Assuming, as notorious, that *there is virtue in relics*, it asks, how is this truth confirmed? The answer is, 'by the miracles wrought at

* Conc. Trident. Sess. XXV. Phillpotts' Letters to Butler, p. 63. Perceval on the Roman Schism, p. 336.

the sepulchres of the saints, by the lost eyes, hands, and other members, which have there been restored; by the dead recalled to life; by evil spirits ejected from the bodies of the living. . . . If garments, handkerchiefs, or the shadow of saints before they departed out of this life, expelled diseases, and repaired the wasted strength of the sick, who can dare to deny that God, *by means of their sacred ashes, bones, and other relics*, does still produce the same miraculous effects?"*

In this way are the miracles of the Apostolic age, of which we are assured by the Holy Ghost himself, brought into doubt by the lying wonders of credulous and superstitious, if not fraudulent and designing men! The true gold, bearing the image and superscription of the King of Heaven, is suspected, because of the false counters, put in circulation from the fifth to the nineteenth century!

Were we, in retaliation for the curses so liberally denounced upon us by Rome, to accuse her members of foul idolatry, should we not be justified?—But retaliation is not a Christian grace; and therefore we will rather pray, that this sin be not laid to their charge in that awful day, when they, as well as we, must be judged for the deeds done in the body, and the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

I conclude this part of my subject with the words of Bishop Montague, whom Dr. Milner hath so strangely misrepresented, as if he favoured the Invocation of Saints. "Whatsoever they do for us, we do not much for them; for we say we may not pray unto them Pray to them if you will; we and our people will pray unto the Lord, who is *ready, willing, able* to hear us every way, without such advocates or mediators."† Afterwards speaking of Relics, which if true he would honour, he says: "Worship them I dare not. Shew them as you doe I would not—in this you abuse them too profanely, making merchandize of the Word of God. In that you profane them to Idolatry, misleading the people to adore them."† Of images he says, "I do not, I cannot, I will not denie, that *Idolatry* is grossely committed in the Church of *Rome*. The ruder sort, at least, are not ex-

* Letters to Butler, ut sup. pp. 64, 65. Cat. Rom. p. iii. c. ii. § 8.

† Gagger Gagged, p. 234.

† Ib. p. 238.

cusable, who goe to it with downe-right *Idolatry*, without any *relative adoration*, worshipping that which they behold with their eyes, the *Image* of the B. VIRGIN, S. PETER, S. PAUL, the CRUCIFIXE; as if CHRIST JESUS were present. This *Idolatry* is ancient in their schools.”*

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE POWER OF INDULGENCES.

“THE doctrine of Purgatory,” says Bishop Taylor, “is the mother of Indulgences, and the fear of that hath introduced these.”† Bishop Porteus had made a similar assertion; and for this, Dr. Milner, in his forty-second letter, accuses him of “*confused ideas, and imperfect knowledge*.” I must submit to the same accusation, though I will not plead guilty to the charge.

It is well known that the early discipline of the Church was very severe. To go no higher than the first General Council, A. D. 325, the penitential Canons in some cases require suspension from Communion and public penance, excepting severe illness and danger of death, for a great many years. A dispensing power, however, resided in the bishop, on evidence of the sinner's repentance. Any such release or mitigation, was called an Indulgence. But this was very different from the Indulgences of which the two learned bishops were speaking, and to which we of the English Communion object. “They who think of doing penance often,” says St. Ambrose, “are deservedly reprov'd, because they grow wanton against Christ. For if they did penance truly, they would not think it was to be repeated; because, as there is but *one baptism*, so there is but *one penance* that is performed in public. There is indeed a daily repentance from sin, but that is for lesser sins, and the other for greater.”‡ There is an ancient homily, attributed both to St. Ambrose and St.

* Appeal, c. xxxiv, p. 248.

† Dissuasive from Popery, sect. iv.

‡ S. Ambros. de Pœnitent. lib. ii. c. 10.

Augustine, and consequently of later date than either, which I quote here from Bingham, because it shows clearly I think that the idea of Indulgences, applied to the future state, was not yet known. “If a man repents at his last hour and is reconciled, and so dies, I am not secure that this man goes hence securely; I can admit him to penance, but I can give him no security. Do I say, he shall be damned? I do not say it; but neither do I say he shall be saved. What then do I say? I know not, I presume not, I promise not. For I know not the will of God. Would you free yourself from all doubt, and avoid that which is uncertain? *Repent whilst you are in health*, and you will be secure when your last day finds you; because you repent in a time when you had power to sin. But if you *then* only begin to repent, *when you can sin no longer*, it is not so much you that forsake your sins, as your sins that forsake you.”* The object of the Church was *to reclaim in this life*, not to have satisfaction made for sin hereafter. Indeed the commutation of penance in this life, by bodily austerities, or paying sums of money is not traced higher by Morinus than the close of the seventh century. From various passages in the works of St. Peter Damian, who flourished in the latter part of the eleventh century, it appears, that one year of penance might be commuted, by singing the Psalter three times each month, and at the end of each Psalter, inflicting upon oneself three hundred blows. One hundred solidi, or shillings, given in alms were also estimated as one year of penance. He who had done all this one hundred times, was entitled to a hundred years; and he who did it a thousand times, to a thousand years of penance.† This exhibits the beginning of satisfaction for the pains of Purgatory. St. Peter Damian speaks of a person who performed a hundred years of penance in six days. “I remember also,” says he, “that when I had imposed a thousand years of penance upon a certain person just before Lent, he finished the whole before the fast was ended.”‡

The sale of Indulgences was begun by Pope Victor II., A. D. 1087, and the example was followed in A. D. 1095 by

* Bingham, Antiq. book xviii. c. iv. sect. 6.

† Morinus de Adm. Sacram. Pœnit. lib. x. c. xvii. xviii. pp. 760-763.

‡ Morinus, ut sup. p. 764.

Pope Urban II. In the exhortation of the latter at the Council of Clermont, to enter on the Crusade under Peter the Hermit, he thus addressed the congregated warriors:—
"Thefts, conflagrations, rapine, murder and other acts, the doers of which shall not possess the kingdom of God, do you redeem by this well pleasing obedience to God; so that these your deeds of piety, united to the prayers of the Saints, may obtain for you a speedy Indulgence for all the crimes by which you have provoked the Lord to anger. We admonish you therefore, and exhort you in the Lord, and we enjoin it upon you *for the remission of your sins*, that with due attention, you curb the insolence . . . of the infidels, in pity for the afflictions and toils of our brethren and co-heirs of the kingdom of Heaven, who dwell at Jerusalem and in its limits. . . . We therefore, by the mercy of God, and confiding in the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, *relax the immense penances for their sins*, to all faithful Christians who shall take up arms against them, and assume the burden of this Pilgrimage. And they who depart this life in true penitence, *need not doubt* that they will receive *both the Indulgence of their sins, and the fruit of everlasting reward.*"*

Alexander of Hales, who flourished A. D. 1230, was the first, according to Morinus, who spake, with hesitation and somewhat in a doubting manner, of the supererogatory merits of Christ's members, united to the supererogatory merits of Christ himself. These are his very words. "It may be said, that when the Lord Pope gives a full Indulgence, he himself punishes, by obliging the Church, or some member of the Church, to make satisfaction. Or it may be said, that the treasure of the Church, which is set forth for the satisfaction of the Church, is principally estimated from the merits of Christ, &c. Whence it may be said, that God punishes the evil actions which receive indulgence, as Man and God, suffering and satisfying for us, and so Christ, both God and Man, punishes or hath punished."—"He had previously showed," says Morin, "that this treasure, from which compensa-

* Willel. Tyr. apud Gesta Dei per Francos. lib. i. c. xv. Morinus, ut sup. c. xix. p. 765.

tion made to God is derived, is composed of these merits of supererogation of Christ and his members."*

Without tracing farther the progress of this tenet concerning the Church's treasure, suffice it to say, that Pope Clement VI, who reigned ten years from A. D. 1342, proclaimed that as "a single drop of Christ's blood would have sufficed for the redemption of the whole human race, the rest was a treasure which He acquired for the militant Church, to be used for the benefit of His sons; which treasure He would not suffer to be hid in a napkin, or buried in the ground, but committed it to be dispensed by St. Peter and his successors, His own vicars upon earth, for proper and reasonable causes, for the total or partial remission of the temporal punishment due to sin; and for an augmentation of this treasure, the merits of the blessed Mother of God and of all the elect, are known to come in aid."†

To know the value of Father Morin's testimony, it is to be remembered, that he was a priest of the Oratory at Paris from 1618, revered by all who knew him for his blameless life and great learning. He laboured on the work I have quoted for thirty years; and though, when it was first published in 1651, it had little success, because he attacked in his preface the Port-Royal divines, yet its merits were acknowledged ten years later; and his latest French biographer acknowledges, that it is an indispensable work, for all who wish thoroughly to understand the subject of Penance.‡

Compare Dr. Milner with such a writer as Morin, and conceive the effrontery of the former in denying what the latter so frankly acknowledges. All that Bishop Porteus had asserted in defining an Indulgence to be a transfer of the overplus of the Saints' goodness, joined with the merits of Christ, &c. is admitted by Morin, but is, in Dr. Milner's judgment (?) an evidence of *confused ideas and imperfect knowledge!*

* Morinus, ut sup., lib. x. cap. xxi. sec. 6, 7, p. 772.

† Clemens VI. in Extrav. *Unigenitus*, cited by Morinus ut sup. p. 774, and translated by Dr. Phillpotts, Letters to Butler, p. 172. For his observations on "*Dr. Milner's oft convicted insincerity*," the reader is especially referred to the whole of Letter VIII. on Indulgences, pp. 158-195.

‡ Biographie Universelle, 8vo. 1821, tom. xxx. p. 169, art. Morin.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ROMAN SUPREMACY.

THIS subject involves the whole Constitutional History of the Christian Church; and a single chapter upon it can say but little, and that little in a very brief and summary manner. So long ago as in 1836, the author of these pages endeavoured to bring it into the compass of an Appendix to his published sermon on Christian Unity; but it swelled so under his hands that he was compelled to throw it aside. At that time, it was read to a learned Greek, who held in his hands all the cited authorities, and verified every quotation. I recur to it, therefore, with the more confidence; and shall here present to the reader a brief outline of the results at which it arrived.

The learned, who have studied the subject, though of opposite sects and of most discordant opinions, seem to agree on one point, viz., that from the Apostolic Age the external arrangement and discipline of the Church were influenced by the political divisions of the Roman Empire. No one, indeed, can read the Apostolical writings, with a map before him on which those divisions are traced, without perceiving that the Apostles were thus influenced; and it forms no small part of the internal and indirect evidence to the truth of the sacred history, that we find such an entire harmony in those minute particulars in which Imposture is most likely to betray itself.

The several provinces of the Roman Empire were subdivided into cities, each having a suburban jurisdiction; but there was one city in which the Governor of each province resided, and which, being commonly the oldest, was considered as the parent of all the rest. For this reason, it was called the Metropolis or Mother City. Instead, however, of residing at Jerusalem, the Roman Governor of Judæa resided at Cæsarea on the sea-coast; and this was the political metropolis. Any one who, even cursorily, examines the first fifteen chapters of the Acts, will see that a Church was early planted, not only in Cæsarea, but also in Lydda, Joppa, Azotus, and Gaza, on or near the coast, and at Sebaste or Samaria, and in Galilee. Thence the Church was extended to Damascus, the Capital of Phœnicia Secunda, and to Tyre and Sidon, the first and second cities of Phœnicia Prima.—

The island of Cyprus was visited by the Apostles for the same purpose, first at its chief city, Salamis. Antioch was the principal city of Syria; Tarsus, of Cilicia; Perga, of Pamphylia; Antioch, of Pisidia; Iconium, in Lycaonia, of which province Lystra and Derbe were the *second* and *eighth* cities. Without proceeding further in tracing the journeyings of the Apostles, let us turn to the Revelation of St. John, in which the mode of their proceedings is incidentally illustrated. *Ephesus* was the great city of Asia Minor, where the Asiarchs, or Chiefs of Asia,* resided. *Smyrna*, the next in order, is ranked in the catalogues, as the *forty-third* city of the Asian province, but was of great importance, for its maritime position, and its commercial opulence. *Pergamus* was the twenty-first city of the same province. *Thyatira* was the third city of Lydia, as *Sardis* and *Philadelphia* were the first and second. *Laodicea*, the seventh, was the Metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana. At the close of the first century, therefore, when St. John wrote the Revelation, these seven cities had Churches, to the Chief Officers of which, the Epistles were addressed of Him who stood in the midst of the Seven Symbolic Candlesticks. They were called the Angels of the Churches; a name signifying a messenger, and equivalent to that of Apostle. The term Apostle seems to have been early confined to those who first went forth to preach the Gospel; partly from reverence, but chiefly, to distinguish between the first planters of the Churches, and those who succeeded them. In this sense it is frequently used by Eusebius, to denote the later Missionaries of the Church, by whose labours it was, in any specified region, first founded. For a similar reason, the *first See* established in any province was called the *Apostolic See*; and as it was in most, if not in all cases, established in the Metropolis, the Bishop of the first See (*primæ sedis Episcopus*) was subsequently called the Metropolitan. But the term Bishop of the first or Apostolic See, was that which, for a long time, was the only title of precedence.

When each Province was provided with a sufficient number of Bishops to carry on the work of spreading the Gospel within its bounds, they were left to take care of their own affairs. This they did by means of Synods or Coun

* Acts xix. 31.

cils; which, according to the thirty-seventh of the Apostolic Canons, were held twice a year; first, in the fourth week after Pentecost or Whit-Sunday, and, next, in the month of October.* At these meetings, Bishops were elected and consecrated, and all other matters affecting the several Churches in the Province were regulated. The Bishop of the First See presided; and, to avoid schism, though he was the Consecrator, two or three Bishops must be present and assisting. If any Bishops of the Province were absent, they sent letters accounting for their absence, and promising their assent to the proceedings of the Synod.

Such seems to have been the simple and primitive arrangement of the Christian Church. In the position which Christians then occupied in the Roman Empire, it was impossible for them to have General Councils, or to conduct their affairs in any other manner than that which has now been so briefly and imperfectly described. When heresies arose to disturb these Provincial Churches, they could, by their synodical decisions, condemn them; and, in doing so, they generally appealed, if any doubt occurred, to the nearest See founded by one of the Apostles; not to the See of Rome, because the practice of calling that exclusively the Apostolic See, is of much later origin. The great and flourishing Sees founded by St. Paul, or St. Peter, or St. John, or by other of the Apostles, would certainly have great weight in determining questions either of doctrine or discipline. Accordingly we find, in the early Christian writers, as we have fully shown in the first part,† a summary mode of appeal to the great Provincial Churches founded by Apostles. "If," says Tertullian, "you are near Achaia, you have Corinth; if not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi; if you can go into Asia, you have Ephesus; if adjacent to Italy, you have the Church of Rome." Why? Because Corinth was the metropolis of Achaia; because Philippi, though not the metropolis, for that was Thessalonica, was yet the second city of Macedonia, and the Church there

* Bevereg. Pandec. Can. tom. i. p. 25. In the ancient Roman Collection it is enumerated Canon XXXVIII. The days of assembling were Monday in the fourth week after Pentecost, and the fourth before the Ides or eleventh of October. Pithœi. Cod. Can. p. 13.

† Chap. IV. pp. 90-92, and 103-105.

was founded by the Apostle Paul; because Ephesus was the chief city of Asia, and the residence of the Apostle John; because Rome was the chief city of Italy and of the Roman Empire. This dream of St. Peter's supremacy had not yet occupied the visions of the night. St. Cyprian, in his treatise on Christian Unity, quotes the words of our Saviour to St. Peter, to show that, "notwithstanding he gave, after his resurrection, to all his Apostles an equal power, yet to manifest unity, he so arranged its beginning as to make it proceed from one."* And in this idea he followed his master Tertullian, who explained our Saviour's words as conferring a personal honour on St. Peter, because he was the first of the Apostles who acknowledged our Lord to be the Christ. Without favouring his Montanist opinions, well might I apply Tertullian's words to Dr. Milner, and his brethren of the Roman Communion: "I ask now concerning this your opinion. Whence do you usurp this right for the Church? Because the Lord said to Peter, *On this rock will I build my Church,—to thee have I given the keys of the kingdom of Heaven*; or this, *Whatsoever ye shall bind or loose in earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven*; do you therefore presume that this power of loosing and binding has descended to you, that is, to every church related to Peter? How are you overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, conferring this personally upon Peter? On thee, he says, I will build my Church, and to thee will I give the keys, not to the Church; and whatsoever thou shalt loose or bind, not what they shall loose or bind. The event itself teaches that the Church was built upon him, that is, by him. . . . He first unlocked the entrance of the heavenly kingdom in Christ's baptism, by which, sins, before bound, are loosed and what shall not be loosed, are bound. . . . Ananias he bound with the chain of death; and the man impotent in his feet he loosed from his infirmity.—What has this to do with the Church, or with thine, thou carnally-minded?"* This rhetorical application of St. Peter's personal privilege as a type of unity, will make every first See in every Province where the Apostles or Apostolic men first preached the Gospel, a See of St. Peter.

* S. Cypr. Opera, ed. Massuet, p. 194-195.

† Tertull. de Pudicitia, cap. xxi. ed. Semler, tom. iv. pp. 432-433.

The accession of Constantine to the Imperial throne materially changed the political arrangement of the Empire, and led to changes of great magnitude in the Church. Between the time of Galba and that of Diocletian, the power of the Prætorian Cohorts had first been elevated to a military despotism, and then, from the time of Adrian, checked and depressed. It became the policy of the Emperors to place over them tried and trusty officers under the name of Præfecti-Prætorio, with ample powers to restrain their turbulence. The fidelity of these officers was secured by giving them rank next in dignity to the Emperor. Constantine carried this system to its utmost perfection. Instead of *two*, he appointed *four* Præfecti-Prætorio, to whom he submitted the administration of the Provinces, which were all arranged in Dioceses. Forty-nine Provinces in five Dioceses were under the Eastern Præfect; eleven Provinces in two Dioceses, under the Præfect of Illyricum; twenty-nine Provinces in three Dioceses, under the Præfect of Italy; and the same number of each under the Præfect of the Gauls. The Spanish, the Gallican, and the British Dioceses were subject to the latter. Beside these, there was a Præfect of the city of Rome, whose jurisdiction extended to *the hundredth milestone from the city*; and this territory was called the *Suburbicarian Region*. Such was the arrangement of the Empire about ten years before the session of the first General Council of Nice.

According to this arrangement, the thirteen great dioceses of the Empire were governed each by its own *Vicarius*, called by the Greeks *Exarch*, and by the Latins *Comes*.* Subordinate to these were the several rulers of the provinces, retaining the various titles which were established in the time of Augustus. Each province was again subdivided into cities, having jurisdiction over the villages within its bounds. Each of these territories was called among the Greeks *παροικία*, *parœcia*, or *parochia*. But the reader must be careful not to confound the *parochia* of the Greeks with the modern signification of the word *parish*, which is entirely of Latin origin. The same may be said of the modern sense of the word *diocese*, which corresponds exactly with the

* This word is the origin of the modern word *Couni*.

Greek *parœcia*, and meant, as first used, a city with its suburban villages. These few particulars are sufficient to illustrate the changes which took place in Ecclesiastical arrangement.

The custom had arisen in Egypt that all the Bishops, in its several provinces should be consecrated by the Bishop of Alexandria; and to him, and him only, had the title of Archbishop been hitherto given. Certain it is, as Le Quien and others admit, that, during the first three centuries, the simple name of Bishop, without any additional title of honour, was given to the greatest and most eminent, as well as the least and most obscure.

A violation of the Egyptian custom having occurred in Upper-Egypt, Alexandria appealed to the General Council, now, for the first time, convened at Nicæa, the metropolis of Bithynia Secunda. The Council, while it confirmed by its *fourth* canon, the ancient and general practice, decided in favour of Alexandria, solely on the ground of established usage in Egypt, and because a similar usage had existed in Rome. For, in its sixth canon, it says: "Let the ancient customs of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis remain in force; so that the Bishop of Alexandria may have authority over them all; seeing that the Bishop of Rome has a similar custom. In like manner, also, with regard to Antioch, and in the other provinces, let their privileges (*τὰ προεβέβητα*, literally rights of primogeniture) be preserved to the Churches. And, in general, be it made known, that if any one be made a Bishop, without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Council decides, that he ought not to be a Bishop. Nevertheless, if for private ends, or through a spirit of contention, two or three oppose the common suffrage of all, the same being reasonable and canonical, then let the suffrage of the majority prevail."*

Here is the first Synodical use even of the word Metropolitan, for the Bishop of the first See; and while it forbids any consecration without his consent, it cautiously guards against any opposition of his for private ends, by establishing the power of a majority. In subjecting the nine or ten Metropolitans of Egypt (for there were at least a hundred

* Beveregii Pand. Can. tom. i. p. 66.

Bishops at that time), to the Bishop of Alexandria, they put it entirely upon the ground of ancient custom, which shows that no *higher* authority than *custom* could be pleaded for it; and the very obscurity with which allusion is made to the usage at Rome, and to the privileges of Antioch and other provinces, shows the extreme caution with which the Nicene Fathers were disposed to treat this dangerous subject. The sixth canon, though it cannot, by any fairness of interpretation, be said to have *established the patriarchal government of the Church*, certainly prepared the way for it; and was made the occasion of other enactments, in subsequent Councils, of a more decided character.

But the question recurs, What did the Council mean by the expression, "Seeing that the Bishop of Rome has a similar custom?" Let a Latin author of the fourth century be heard in answer. Dr. Milner quoted Rufinus to prove that the Apostles, *three centuries and a half before his time*, composed the Apostles' Creed.* I shall quote him for the construction put upon this canon in Italy, and at Rome itself, *not more than sixty or seventy years after its enactment*. He states the purport of the sixth canon thus: "that at Alexandria, and in the city of Rome, the old custom be observed, that the one should have the care of *Egypt*, the other of the *Suburbicarian Churches*."† The SUBURBICARIAN CHURCHES were in the SUBURBICARIAN REGION, which, in the time of Constantine, was governed by the præfect of the city, and extended one hundred miles around Rome. The same extent of territory, though it had several Bishops in it, was, by a custom now confirmed, under the care of the Bishop of Rome.

In the year 329 Constantine transferred the seat of Empire from Rome to Byzantium, a ruined city of Thrace. It was an inconsiderable Bishopric, in the province of which Heraclea was the metropolis. But it was now to assume, under the name of Constantinople, great political importance, being called New Rome, and starting at once into a splendour eclipsing that of its superannuated rival. Heraclea,

* See Part i. c. iv. p. 77.

† "VI. Et ut apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille *Egypti*, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat." Rufini Hist. Eccles. Opera, p. 199.

however, still continued to hold its rank as the Mother Church, until the year 381, in which the second General Council was assembled at Constantinople. Hitherto Alexandria had been the *second*, and Antioch the *third* city of the Empire. Now, Constantinople being elevated above them, the Council decreed, in its third canon, "that the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the precedence of honour (*τὰ προσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*) after the Bishop of Rome, because that city is New Rome." The precedence of honour is not on account of the dignity of the Bishop, but the dignity and political importance of the See. This reason is still more explicitly and amply set forth in the twenty-eighth canon of the fourth General Council, held in A. D. 451, at Chalcedon, the second city in the province of Bithynia Prima. After quoting the third canon of 381, it proceeds to assign the reasons for the precedence both of Old and New Rome: "For the Fathers (i. e. of the second General Council) justly gave privileges (*τὰ προσβεία*) to the See of Old Rome, because that was the Imperial City; and for the same reason . . . awarded equal privileges to the most holy See of New Rome; rightly judging that a city honoured with Empire and a Senate, and enjoying equal privileges with Old Imperial Rome, should also be as exalted as that, in ecclesiastical matters, ranking next to it."* It is here asserted that the Fathers of the second Council gave the precedence to Old as well as New Rome; and both for the same political reason, that the one had been, and the other was, the seat of Empire and of the Senate. If they gave it, Rome had it not before; and if they gave it, because Rome was the Imperial city, they did not give it because of its pretended supremacy as the See of St. Peter.

In the year 449, during the correspondence which preceded the Council of Chalcedon, occurred the first use, in an official document, of the title of Patriarch. As Metropolitan denoted the first Bishop of each province, so was Patriarch used, at the time of which we are now speaking, to denote the first Bishop of a Diocese, and a diocese of the Empire, as we have seen, included many provinces. This ecclesiastical title, therefore, coincided in dignity with the *Vicarius*

* Bevereg. Pand. Can. tom. i. p. 145.

or *Exarch* in the civil arrangement of the Empire. This, be it observed, was a usage which commenced even so late as the middle of the fifth century. But ambition, when once awakened, makes rapid strides; and it comported with the policy of the Emperors to excite and gratify it. In the *Novellæ* of Justinian, A. D. 536, Anthemius, Bishop of Constantinople is called the most blessed Archbishop and *ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH*; that is, Patriarch of the whole Roman Empire; for, in the language of Roman pride, the whole world was considered as under their dominion. This arrogant title thus offered by the Emperor, was soon considered as appertaining of right to the See of New Rome; and it alarmed the jealous fears of the Bishop of Old Rome. The well known letter of St. Gregory the Great, expostulating with John, surnamed the Faster, will place the whole subject before my readers, in its true light. I regret that its great length forbids me to give it entire. It begins thus:

"Gregory to John, Bishop of Constantinople.

"At the time in which you, my brother, were advanced to the honour of the priesthood, you must recollect in how great peace and concord you found the Church. But, by what daring or swelling of pride I know not, you have undertaken to assume a *new name*, which cannot but be a scandal to the hearts of all your brethren. I wonder at this the more earnestly, when I remember that you wished to flee, in order that you might not come to the Episcopate. Yet, having obtained it, you desire so to exercise it as if you had been goaded to it by ambition. For how did you confess yourself unworthy to be called a Bishop, when you are brought to this pass, that you seek to *despise* your brethren and be called the *only* Bishop?"

Gregory then proceeds to speak of the course pursued by his predecessor Pelagius, in sending letters of remonstrance to John, and refusing communion with him;—and his own verbal messages and threats of excommunication on his accession to the See of Rome. From threats he proceeds to entreaties—begs and entreats him with tears, that he, who was advanced to the rank of the Episcopate, that he might give a lesson of the greater humility, should not show that he did not teach himself a truth, which

he taught to others. He entreats him to weigh well that the peace of the whole Church is disturbed by his rash presumption; and that he himself would increase in grace, if he refrained from usurping this proud and foolish appellation, and did not thereby seek to degrade his brethren. He quotes the example of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 12, 13, and the description of Lucifer in Isa. xiv. 13, 14. On the latter passage he dwells with great force; and then appeals to the Apostles, to the Saints before the Law, under the Law, and under Grace, all constituting the body of Christ, as members of his Church, yet no one ever wishing to be called *universal*. "Let your holiness," he adds, "acknowledge how great is that arrogance which *covets* to be called by a name, which no one ever *presumed* to take, who was *truly holy*."

He then appeals to the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon in conferring honours on his predecessors the Bishops of the Apostolic See; yet none of them were willing to be called by such a title, or ever arrogated to himself so rash a name. If he had assumed the glory of singularity in the grade of the pontificate, he would have seen that all his brethren would have denied it to him.

After attributing the conduct of John to the influence of flatterers and evil counsellors, he proceeds to speak of the signs of the times, as proving the near approach of Antichrist. "Pestilence and the sword rage throughout the world. Nations rise against nations. The Globe is shaken, and the yawning Earth, with its inhabitants, is clean dissolved. The king of pride is near; and, what cannot lawfully be uttered, an army of Priests is prepared for him." Then, after appealing to the humility of Christ, and his constant inculcation of humility on the hearts of his disciples, he sets before John the terrors of final retribution: "What, then, dearest brother, wilt thou be able to say in that terrible scrutiny of the coming judgment? . . . Behold how the Church is rent by this nefarious title of pride, by which the hearts of all your brethren are scandalized. Can you forget what the Truth hath said, 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.'""

* S. Greg. Regist. Epist. lib. v. Indic. xiii. Epist. 18. Opera, tom. ii. col. 742.

This memorable letter was written in the fifth year of St. Gregory's Episcopate, A. D. 595, and he died in A. D. 604. His successor, Boniface III., who had been sent by Gregory on a mission to the Emperor Phocas, was then raised to the See of Rome. Phocas had quarrelled with Cyriacus, the Bishop of Constantinople; and Boniface, during his residence at Court, as Baronius relates, had insinuated himself into the friendship of the Emperor. When, therefore, Phocas, according to custom, wrote to him on the occasion of his elevation, he *transferred* the title of Œcumenical or Universal Patriarch from Constantinople to Rome. The authorities to which Baronius refers, are Paulus Diaconus, the historian of the Lombards, and Anastasius, the author of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Both these writers explicitly declare, that the grant was made *at the solicitation of Boniface*. Rivalry with Constantinople, and a quarrel with its Patriarch, were, therefore, the moving causes which influenced the Bishop of Rome, and the Emperor, to "*prepare*" in the prophetic and awful warning of Gregory, "*an army of Priests for the service of Antichrist!*"

It may be well to remark here, that, in a letter of St. Gregory to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, and Anastasius, Bishop of Antioch, he fixes the precise date when John first assumed the title of Universal Bishop. It was written in the same year, and doubtless about the same time, in which he wrote the letter of remonstrance from which I have so largely quoted. "Eight years ago," he says, "in the time of my predecessor Pelagius of saintly memory, our brother and fellow Bishop John assembled a Synod in the City of Constantinople, in which, he attempted to call himself the Universal Bishop."* "Eight years ago;" that is, A. D. 587, one year after John himself was made bishop.

It is not for me to assume the office of interpreting prophecy; yet the signs of the times now, as in the days of Gregory, must lead every thoughtful mind to view passing events in their connection with the great designs of Almighty Wisdom. If to 587, we add the great prophetic period of 1260 years, it brings us to the very year in which I am writing, A. D. 1847. Constantinople has long since been punished for *her* usurpation. WHAT WILL BE THE FATE OF ROME UNDER PIUS IX.?

* S. Greg. Opera, ut sup. Epist. 43, tom. ii. col. 771.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

IN my introduction (p. 16) I promised to consider Dr. Milner's forty-ninth letter on the subject of persecution. To redeem that pledge, I shall add another chapter to a work, which has already engrossed too much of my time and labour.

Persecution within the Church for religious opinions, derives its origin from the period of the Arian Emperors; and, wherever human passions have, amid contending parties, been excited by political motives, and sustained by despotic power, the example has ever since been too fatally followed; so that the Church, instead of resembling the seamless garment of Christ, resembles rather the many coloured coat of Joseph, as it was presented to the eyes of Israel his father, torn by wild beasts and dipped in blood. Some knowledge, therefore, of the character and conduct of civil government, is absolutely necessary to understand the causes and motives of events in the history of the Church. I am indebted for the substance of this remark to the historian Socrates, who says that he "always made mention of the Emperors, because that, after they professed the Christian religion, they rendered themselves masters of ecclesiastical affairs."* It was the union of the temporal with the ecclesiastical power, and the despotism of both, which brought in civil pains and penalties, in support of the Church's discipline.

I seek not to raise an odium against the members of the Roman Communion, by relating the horrors of the Inquisition, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the bloody fires of Smithfield; but I cannot refrain from indignation, when I see such a perversion of the truth, as this letter of Dr. Milner contains. Strip it of all its subtleties, I cannot; for to detect every misrepresentation, would require a volume. He denies the charge of Bishop Porteus, that "the Romish

* Socr. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. Proœmium.

Church zealously maintains her claim of punishing heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures and death ; and asserts the contrary, "that she *disclaims* the power of so doing." How does he prove this hardy denial and assertion? Why, by quoting *Leo the Great*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Martin*, and, long before their time, *Tertullian* ! The Canon law, he adds, excludes all from the priesthood who have "actively concurred in the death or mutilation of any human being." Actively concurred !—I asked a prelate in Rome, who was a judge in a Criminal Court, how he could possibly sit on trials of life and death, when the Canon Law so strictly forbade it. "So I told his holiness," said he "when he appointed me ; but he answered, *Can I not absolve you ?*" Such was the ready answer to my inquiry. In Rome, Canons are mere paper barriers, when occasion serves. They are whitened sepulchres, which hide much loathsome corruption.

Even poor John Huss was not burned by the Council of Constance ! They only gave him over to the secular arm ! And what is that ? The third Lateran Council (A. D. 1179) decreed that "although Ecclesiastical discipline, as the blessed Leo saith, being content with the judgment of the priests, does not take *sanguinary revenge*, yet is it *assisted* by the decrees of Catholic Princes, that men may often seek a saving remedy *through fear of corporal punishment*." Was there ever a tenderer mercy ?—So in the third Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, A. D. 1215. "We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy which exalteth itself against this holy orthodox and Catholic faith, . . . condemning all heretics, by whatsoever name they may be reckoned ; who have indeed diverse faces, but their tails are bound together, for they make agreement in the same folly. *Let such persons, when condemned, be LEFT TO THE SECULAR POWERS, who may be present, or to their officers, TO BE PUNISHED IN A FITTING MANNER !*"

To show how little liberty the secular powers had to decline the office of burning and torturing heretics, the Canon adds : "And let the secular powers, whatever offices they may hold, be induced and admonished, and if need be, *compelled* by ecclesiastical censure, that, as they desire to be accounted faithful, they should, for the defence of the faith, publicly set forth an oath, that, to the utmost of their power,

they will strive to *exterminate*, from the lands under their jurisdiction, all *heretics who shall be denounced by the Church* ; . . . But if any temporal Lord, being required and admonished by the Church, shall *neglect to cleanse his country of this heretical filth*, let him be bound with the chain of excommunication by the Metropolitan, and the other co-provincial bishops. And, if he shall scorn to make satisfaction within a year, let this be *signified* to the *Supreme Pontiff* ; that thenceforth he may *declare his vassals to be absolved from their fidelity to him, and may expose his land to be occupied by the Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, may without contradiction, possess it, and preserve it in purity of faith*."*

To proceed now to what Dr. Milner says of Queen Elizabeth : Let any ingenuous lover of historic truth consider the Bull of Pope Pius V. in 1569, and then let him say whether that resolute princess and her able statesmen were not fully justified. The Bull in the original Latin may be found at length in Burnet, and a translation of it in Collier.† The Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, claimed to be supreme over all nations and kingdoms, *to root out, and to pull down, to destroy, to build, and to plant*—prerogatives belonging only to the Almighty.‡ He called Elizabeth "that vassal of Iniquity the pretended Queen of England ;" declared her to be a heretic, and an encourager of heretics ; and deprived her of all dominion, dignity and privilege ; absolved her subjects from all fidelity and allegiance ; and commanded them to disobey her, under penalty of excommunication. Though he accuses her of depriving the Bishops and Clergy who were submissive to him, he nowhere charges her with *bloodshed*. Nor could he do so, with the least shadow of truth ; for her firm, but mild and tolerant government, had brought upon her the reproach of her Puritan subjects, that she had an inclination to Popery.

Walsingham, one of the most honest, wise, and virtuous minister of that or any other age, bears this testimony to her conduct and motives : "I find her majesty's proceeding

* Canons of Lateran, III. and IV. in Perceval's Roman Schism, pp. 128-135.

† Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain, fol. tom. ii. p. 521.

‡ Jerem. xviii. 7, 9.

to be grounded on two principles. The one that *consciences are not to be forced but to be won, and induced by force of truth, with the aid of time, and the use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.* The other, that causes of conscience, when they exceed their bounds and *grow* to be matter of *faction*, lose their nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion. According to these principles her majesty, at her coming to the crown, disliking the tyranny of *Rome*, which had used terror and rigour to settle commandments of men's faiths and consciences; though as a princess of great wisdom and magnanimity, she suffered but the exercise of one religion; yet her proceedings towards the papists, was with great lenity; expecting the good effects which time might work in them; and therefore her majesty revived not the laws made in the 28th and 35th of her father's reign, whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath, without further circumstances, *was made treason.* But contrariwise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so, as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a FOREIGN JURISDICTION: And as for the Oath, it was altered by her majesty into a more grateful form; the hardness of the name and appellation of *Supream head*, was removed; and the penalty of the refusal thereof, turned only to *disablement* to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge, and yet of *liberty to be reinvested therein*, if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after, when *Pius Quintus excommunicated her Majesty, &c.*"*

Here is the contemporary testimony of one who *knew well*, and was *too honest to deceive*, that no severity was practised by Queen Elizabeth till the excommunication of Pius

* See the whole of Sir Francis Walsingham's Letter to M. Critoy, in Burnet, Hist. Reform. part ii. book iii. near the end.

V. had rendered it necessary for her to protect her crown and her life. Was it wonderful that she hung the Jesuits, who, like birds of ill omen, flew over the channel, and settled in every part of fair and peaceful England, to sow the seeds of rebellion, and light up the flames of civil war?—That bull of excommunication has never been repealed. *Will the wisdom of Pius the Ninth retract the nefarious proceeding of Pius the Fifth?*

The Churches of the English Communion do not defend the death of Sir Thomas More, or of Fisher the holy Bishop of Rochester, or of Mary, Queen of Scots. Alas! much of the best blood of England, on pretences of constructive treason, has flowed upon her scaffolds. But every instance of cruelty may be traced to the enormities sanctioned by Rome in the plenitude of her power, and to the influence of opinions derived from the mediæval ages. In the ancient Catholic Church, persecution was utterly unknown; and I therefore end with the words of the noble Athanasius,* "If it be indecorous for Bishops to change their sentiments from fear, it is much more indecorous to force persons who are unsettled in their faith, or are unwilling to believe. Thus the Devil, as he has no truth, has recourse to the hatchet and the cord, and breaks down the doors of those who receive him. The Saviour, on the contrary, is so mild as to teach, 'If any man WILL come after me,' and 'Whosoever WILL be my disciple;' and, when He cometh to any one, He compelleth not, but rather knocketh and saith, 'Open to me, my sister, my spouse.' To those who open, He *entereth*; from those who are indifferent, or unwilling, He *goeth away*. THE TRUTH IS TO BE PROCLAIMED, NOT WITH SWORDS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF OFFENCE, NOR BY MEANS OF SOLDIERS, BUT BY PERSUASION AND COUNSEL."

* Athan. ad Monachos. Opera, tom. i. p. 363, ed. Benedict.

THE END.



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